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THE CLEVELAND CONFERENCE

First joint socialist meeting in 40 years weighs future action

By John T. McManus

CLEVELAND, OHIO

THROUGH a wild Great Lakes storm piling highways with snowdrifts and making all travel perilous, more than 100 people made their way here from a dozen northern states including California and New York for a unique Conference of American Socialists Nov. 28-30.

What brought them together was a wishful prospect of socialist unity in the one major country in the world without an effective socialist movement; and the equally wishful prospect of a united socialist electoral effort in 1960.

The Conference was unique in that for the first time in nearly 40 years in the U.S., or probably anywhere else in the world except possibly new China, leaders and adherents of all lines of socialist persuasion got together in one meeting room to match views and, if possible, agree on a common course.

The prospects which drew some 130 people together—trade unionists from a dozen unions, students from at least eight campuses, top officials of three main socialist groupings, candidates and participants in a half dozen 1958 electoral efforts, and a remainder identifiable only by their interest and participation—were still on distant horizons when the Conference ended. But the approaches to socialist unity—at least among independents and rank and file Socialist, Communist and Socialist Workers Party members—were certainly clearer and apparently more realizable after two days of matching views. The possibilities of independent electoral action were brought into much better focus as unionists, students, and gray political veterans took the floor to argue for middleground maneuverability between hardrock positions represented by the Communist Party, which advocates operating within the Democratic Party with the labor movement, and the Socialist Workers Party, which refuses to support candidates of "capitalist" parties, and advocates challenging them with independent socialist candidates in every possible situation.

NONDESCRIPT BREW? In addition to the CP and the SWP, the old Socialist Party—now the core of a new grouping including the Social Democratic Federation and the Independent Socialist League—also had official spokesmen at the Conference, although registered as "observers." The patriarchal Socialist Labor Party (founded 1890) sent a 5-page letter declining an invitation to participate in any conference "with groups bent on reforming capitalism," but had a registered observer present anyway to report on the progress of the participants toward what the SLP characterized in advance (quoting Frederick Engels) as

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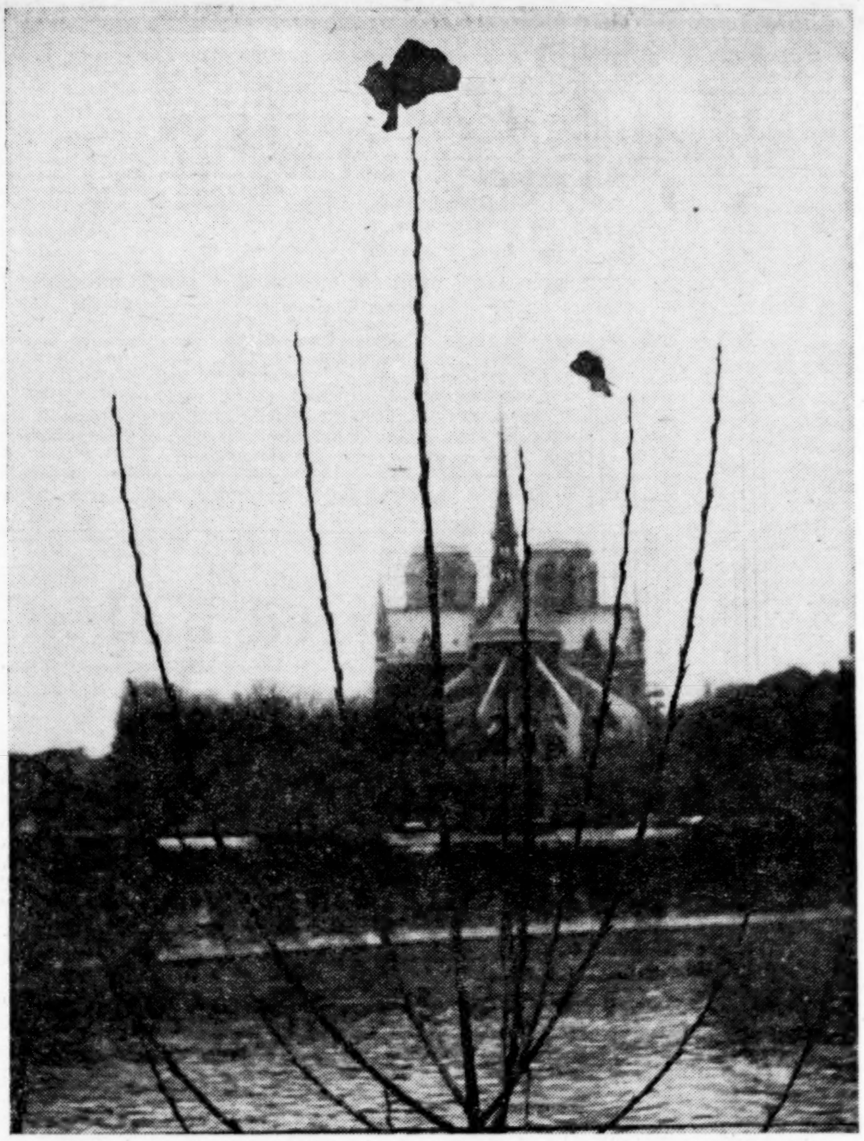

PARIS GREETS THE REIGN OF KING CHARLES' FIFTH REPUBLIC
France's future looks as bleak as this view onto Notre Dame Cathedral after the Parliament vote. A rigged electoral system gave Jacques Soustelle's Gaullist Union of the New Republic 188 seats (out of 465) on 26% of the vote and the Communists 10 seats on 20% of the vote. The GUARDIAN will carry a full story on the election and the prospects next week.

CAN A NEUTRALIZED GERMANY EMERGE?

West appears split on Berlin solution

ON THANKSGIVING DAY the Soviet government made public its proposals on the future of West Berlin and the prospect of German reunification. The proposals were contained in a long and carefully-prepared document analyzing the course of events in Germany since the 1945 Potsdam agreement.

Washington, London, Paris, Bonn and West Berlin immediately shouted "no." But when the shouting died down there were indications that Western unity on Germany was not as solid as it seemed, that there were undercurrents of a desire to break the deadlock on Germany's future.

In essence Moscow proposed that "for the time being" West Berlin be made into a demilitarized "free city" with its own government and economy, its status guaranteed by the Big Four and possible supervision by a UN observer team. To change West Berlin's status "in a calm atmosphere, without haste and unnecessary friction," it proposed no changes for six months; after that time it would in any case hand over authority in East Berlin to the German Democratic Republic.

A WAY OUT: Moscow said "the best way to solve the Berlin question" would be for the Big Four to live up to the Potsdam agreement. In today's circumstances this would mean (1) "the withdrawal of the Federal Republic of Germany from NATO and the simultaneous withdrawal of the GDR from the Warsaw Treaty Organization," and (2) making sure neither of the two German states have armed forces "in excess of those needed to maintain law and order at home and guard the frontiers."

For the time being, however, the Soviet government proposed a German confederation which, "without affecting the social bases of the GDR and the FRG . . . channel [their] efforts into a common route of peace policy and . . . insure a gradual rapprochement and merger of the two German states."

THE REACTION: In reply the State Dept. said the U.S. will not "enter into any agreement with the Soviet Union" which means "abandoning the people of West Berlin to hostile domination." British Foreign Secy. Lloyd said Britain would carry out its "obligations" to Ber-

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SOME TOUGHER LAWS ARE NEEDED

How Dixie robs the Negro of his vote

By Louis E. Burnham

WHEN THE CIVIL RIGHTS Commission on Dec. 8 begins open hearings on the denial of suffrage rights to Alabama Negroes, the nation will witness the first public unveiling of the chicanery through which an oligarchy of wealth maintains effective political control of the South.

The hearings are taking place in Montgomery and the major specific complaints under investigation have arisen from nearby Macon County, seat of the famed Tuskegee Institute. But if the Commission investigators have done their job, their findings should expose a system of disfranchisement which makes democracy a mockery in all the deep South states.

Negroes make up 80% of the population of Macon County. When, under the prodding of the Tuskegee Civic Assn., they began to seek registration in more than token numbers, the white registrars used every conceivable means to dissuade them. A few years ago they even resigned, so that for a period of 18 months there was no machinery for registering anybody, Negro or white.

GERRYMANDER JOB: Despite all guile and intimidation, the Negro vote, especially in the town of Tuskegee, rose slowly but steadily. In 1957, the number of Negro voters reached 420, a large enough group to wield influence in local politics. At that point the county fathers gerrymandered the town boundaries to exclude all but 10 Negro voters. Since then the defenders of white minority rule have intensified efforts to keep Negroes off the lists.

Macon is not the worst of Alabama counties. In Lowndes and Wilcox counties no Negroes have voted since 1901. Only six cast ballots in Bullock county and a handful in Dallas. All these are rural counties of Negro majorities.

Even in urban centers, where white officials find it more difficult to block the Negro's access to the ballot box with a shroud of terror, the Negro's proportionate voting strength is much smaller than that of whites. In industrial Birmingham, for instance, there are roughly 127,000 Negroes of voting age; less than 12,000, or 10%, are qualified to vote. This compares with a white eligibility of more than 50%.

THE VOUCHERS: The mechanism of

(Continued on Page 9)

THE MAIL BAG

Look homeward

WEST HAVEN, CONN.

The time to speak out is now, as Will Miller says in his letter in the GUARDIAN Nov. 17, but not about Pasternak. Let us speak of this country, let us demand resignation of Dulles, cessation of nuclear tests forever; let us demand peace, let us demand good schools for all children North and South. In short, let us clean up our own backyard before criticizing others.

Mary Ragoza

Voltaire and Jefferson

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Two wrongs never made a right, and it is not the job of American radicals to find excuses in the witch-hunts of our own government for the sinfully shabby way the Soviet Union has behaved toward Boris Pasternak. There have always been historical reasons why czars, kings, dictators and bureaucrats have curtailed intellectual freedom. But for us, the right of free speech should be one of those absolutes for which we fight—everywhere. We should be indignant, not dispassionate, now. This we owe to the ghosts of M. Voltaire and Mr. Jefferson.

Muriel McAvoy

No Tolstoy

NEW YORK, N.Y.

I have read **Doctor Zhivago.** In my opinion, to compare this book to **War and Peace** or the author to Tolstoy or Dostoyevsky, is a big joke. I have not read Pasternak's poetry. Perhaps he is a fine poet. But he is a poor novelist.

Pasternak claims that the Soviet people taught him to write realism. **Doctor Zhivago** is not the product of a realist. It is the reflection of one who is ill and sees nothing good, only the bad, which leads him to be dishonest and unfair. As for the political implications, I shall leave that to the Soviet literary people and the anti-Soviet journalists to fight out betweeen themselves.

Fanny Fox

A correction

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Surely Chou En-lai is too good on his logistics to have been responsible for the figures cited by Anna Louise Strong in her article appearing in the GUARDIAN on Oct. 20. In it Miss Strong says: "Chou En-lai told me . . . that whereas last year's food crops . . . totalled 185 million tons, which gave a quite adequate diet of 6 pounds of grain a day per capita, this year's crop will probably reach 400 million tons, giving a per capita daily ration of 12 pounds, which nobody can eat, so it will be used for fodder, and to make synthetics and plastics."

The Chinese reports of crop gains do not have to be exaggerated in order to make a point. They speak for themselves. For example, its 1958 wheat crop—and wheat is not its main food—is currently estimated at 1,451,348,500 bushels, a shade higher than the currently reported U.S. wheat crop of 1,449,498,000 bushels. This is a mighty achievement, especially since China was hit by widespread drought this year. It must be taken into consideration that nine years ago on the eve of its national liberation, China's wheat production was only 44% of ours.

Assuming a population of 650 million in both years (to simplify the arithmetic), one gets a figure of about 1.7 lbs. of grain per day in 1957 and about 3.7 lbs. in 1958. These are not as big as those claimed by Miss Strong, but they are more accurate and no less spectacular.

Charles J. Coe
Editor, Facts for Farmers

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Spooky Foods. You've heard about them . . . now surprise your friends with 1-1/5 oz. Fried Grasshoppers, 1½ oz. Roasted Caterpillar, 1¾ oz. Boiled Quail Eggs, 3-2/3 oz. Smoked Tuna Hearts—**plus** 3-2/3 oz. Smoked Sliced Octopus! Gourmets think they're delicious. A terrific gift idea . . . a wonderful conversation piece . . . great at parties! From Japan. Shpg. wt. 2 lbs. $2.97.

—Sears Roebuck catalog

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under the heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: E. S. Erwin, Tenn.

Vin's verities

SAN DIEGO, CALIF.

The newly-formed National Guardian Club of San Diego was stirred by an informative speech denouncing the two-party system and urging unity among the independent left groupings.

Vincent Hallinan compared wage standards of several occupations in the Soviet Union with those in the U.S., using figures published by the N.Y. **Times.** In all cases the take-home pay of comparable occupations was greater in Soviet Russia than in the U.S., whereas most conservative U.S. publications would have their readers believe just the opposite is true. He used this to illustrate the potentialities of a socialized system even when it is very young (41 years, compared with 182 of U.S. capitalism).

The meeting was chaired by Prof. Harry Steinmetz, well-known fighter for freedom of speech and civil rights, and had an attendance of around 70 Guardian readers and progressives.

The club meets semi-weekly for symposiums, guest speakers, forums and general open discussions. The next meeting will be held Dec. 5 at 4561 North Av. at 8 p.m.

A. L. Robbins

Thanksgiving thoughts

CHICAGO, ILL.

The most wonderful season of the year has rolled around again, and our hearts are filled with thankfulness for the great abundance which is ours. And yes, we are making and exploding bigger and better bombs. "So are the Russians," you say. But we are not content with a dirty bomb and are striving to create a clean one. Are the Russians concerned about making a clean bomb? Not at all. But knowing that we might any day announce that we have achieved it and put them in a secondary position, they got the bright idea of proposing a cessation of nuclear explosions.

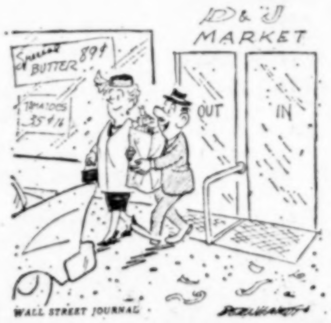
Diabolically clever! They kill two birds with one stone: they keep the dirty bomb with impunity and at the same time beguile the people who passionately desire peace, with hopes of cessations of nuclear explosions. And they not only fool their own people but Americans as well.

The uninformed person, not understanding the issues at stake, even doubts that there can be a clean bomb and without thinking falls in with the Khrushchev propaganda of stopping the explosions right here and now.

Of course, it is easy to see how the poison of the Godless people is spreading to our shores, and is affecting good loyal Americans, God-fearing Catholics and Protestants as well. Our people are so infected with the peace propaganda that they shower their Cnogressmen, even the President, with letters asking for a discussion with the Russians on the subject of peace, believing that such talks would be fruitful.

These are some of the problems we are confronted with on Thanksgiving 1958. But we are not going to let it dampen our spirits, for we shall yet create a clean bomb and prove to our people and to the world how deep is our concern for humanity. Let us be thankful on this holiday in the knowledge that a clean bomb is on the horizon.

Ida Good



Wall Street Journal

"Say, I'm in pretty good condition at that! I couldn't carry $20 worth of groceries when I was just out of college."

The Lord's work

NEW YORK, N.Y.

Claude Williams says our hope is in the common people, who will fight for their public schools, and who will do it on the local level, once they see the issue clearly.

Right now there is division of the people from top to bottom, and many do not understand the issue. But the toiling whites will come to see that their interests—specifically for schools for their children—are with the Negroes. Then they will stand with the Negroes and vote with the Negroes. All this will not happen overnight; in the meantime there will be confusion, cross-currents, terror and frustration.

But again, as always, the poor are the instruments of the Kingdom. Again, the preachers to the poor are their spokesmen and leaders. And again it is the chosen and peculiar work of Claude Williams to reach these preachers. As you read this, he is driving his car somewhere through Mississippi, Arkansas, Missouri, etc., discussing problems of brotherhood in person with both preachers and key lay leaders. Claude is on the right track, and it is more important than ever that this work be done.

Will you help with a contribution now, and a pledge of future support?

Marion S. Davidson, Secy.,
Claude Williams Committee
Box 29, Old Chelsea Station

Ten years ago in the Guardian

THE GREAT PUMPKIN SPY MELODRAMA of the last ten days is now generally conceded to have been carefully stage-managed by the lame-duck House Un-American Committee in an 11th-hour effort to extend its life into the new Congressional session. However, the Hallowe'en hullabaloo in the press over the affair has served to obscure the main point of the ten-year-old documents involved.

The main point is that these documents—as far as their character and their content have been revealed—serve to prove that U.S. diplomacy, in the years preceding the outbreak of World War II, was actively engaged in appeasing Hitler at the same time that our nation, along with Britain and France, refused to join in collective security with Soviet Russia against Hitler aggression.

—National Guardian, Dec. 13, 1948

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REPORT TO READERS

The sacred bull

IN 1924, SHORTLY AFTER HE WAS NAMED Attorney General, with the charge of cleaning up the Federal Bureau of Investigation, former Chief Justice Harlan Fiske Stone wrote:

"There is always the possibility that a secret police may become a menace to free government and free institutions because it carries with it the possibility of abuses of power which are not always apprehended or understood. The Bureau of Investigation is not concerned with political or other opinions of individuals. It is concerned only with such conduct as is forbidden by the laws of the United States. When a police system passes beyond these limits, it is dangerous to the proper administration of justice and to human liberty, which it should be our first concern to cherish."

Justice Stone's foresight can be attested to by talking to anyone who has ever had his doorbell rung by the FBI, or been stopped at a street corner on the way to work, or been fired out of a job within hours after FBI agents have called on his boss. All this under the auspices of the man who became director of the FBI under Attorney General Stone.

TO THE AMERICAN PRESS, radio, TV, magazine, movie and book publishing industry, John Edgar Hoover is a sacred bull. Criticism of him is equated with treason; adulation equals objective appraisal. Hoover himself rarely condescends to reply directly to criticism. Rather the reply is put in the mouth of a politician, patriot or priest.

There have, however, been honest (read: courageous) if rare studies of the FBI's work. The last full-scale appraisal was Max Lowenthal's **The Federal Bureau of Investigation** (1950). That book got a frightened freeze-out or worried reviews in the press and, strangely, soon disappeared from the bookshops. Try to find a copy today—even in a second-hand shop.

But until this fall there had been no careful review bringing the FBI story up to date. Then, on Oct. 18, the **Nation** magazine devoted a special 64-page issue to one topic: "The FBI." The author was Fred J. Cook, a first-rate reporter who had done a similar job for the **Nation** on the case of Alger Hiss.

The editors had given Cook a free hand. They had asked him, when he got the assignment, to address himself to one main question: Just how good a police agency is the FBI? Cook was critical, objective and analytical and the **Nation** printed his report. In an introduction the editors said: "What we wanted, and what is here presented, is the core of critical truth about the work of the FBI."

JUST 10 DAYS LATER the reaction came, in the usual fashion. Preston J. Moore, national commander of the American Legion, announced that a "deliberate smear campaign" had been organized against Hoover and the FBI "similar to the Communists' unsuccessful effort in 1940." He cited the **Nation** article but went further. He noted that the N. Y. **Post** was gathering material for a series of articles in what was "obviously a far-flung attempt to do a character assassination job on Mr. Hoover." And, he said, the magazine **Rights**, published by the Emergengy Civil Liberties Committee, was planning to devote a whole issue to Hoover and the FBI.

The **Post** called Moore's statement "one of the crudest attempts to discredit or thwart independent journalism that we have ever encountered . . . Too many newspapers have too long operated on the theory that the FBI chief can do no wrong, and the FBI public relations machine has frequently exhibited its intolerance toward anyone who questioned Mr. Hoover's infallibility."

Last month Moore's charges were repeated, almost verbatim, by Sen. John M. Butler (R-Md.) and by Boston's Cardinal Cushing, recent recipient of a red hat from the new Pope.

TOO LONG INDEED HAVE THE FEAR and the silence about the FBI prevailed. The McCarthys come and go, but Hoover seems eternal. For all his drama and seeming power, Joe McCarthy was a blundering fool in many ways. Hoover, who gave the witch-hunt and the hysteria his blessing—and actually official leadership—is a far more astute practitioner of the art of persecution.

As the new Congress prepares to open, it will be most interesting to note if any of the newly-elected Congressmen will have the guts to stand up and ask Hoover just what he's going to use his new appropriation for; and why he keeps piling up in his files hundreds of thousands of dossiers on Americans whose sole crime has been to disagree with Hoover's definition of Americanism.

Meanwhile you can express your feelings about the freedom of the press (and add to the public enlightenment) by getting one or more copies of the **Nation** article, reading it and passing it on. The price: 50c; 10 for $2.50; 50 for $10. The address: The Nation, 333 Sixth Av., New York 14. N. Y.

—THE GUARDIAN

MACHINES MAKE MARITIME LABOR UNITY ESSENTIAL

Longshoremen fight job loss from automation

By Elmer Bendiner

NEW YORK DOCKERS MARCH TO STOP-WORK MEETING
A band leads longshoremen to Madison Square Garden rally

IN SOME CANNING factories the finished product that rolls off the production line is not a can, not even a carton of cans but a whole truckload of cartons. Machines glue the cartons together and other machines fasten the unit to a pallet called a "whaleback," designed to rest on the bed of a truck. At the port of delivery a crane lifts the truckload out of the hold and drops it onto a waiting truck.

The operation cuts the loading and unloading time to a fraction of what it would be otherwise, but it also cuts the manpower. Today fewer longshoremen work fewer hours. Their pensions, calculated on the number of port-hours worked, are likewise slashed. And whalebacks are only one example of automation's walloping revolutionary impact on the nation's waterfronts.

JUICE IN TANKERS: Some Grace Line vessels have ports through which machines can move a cargo onto conveyor belts which carry it to an automatic elevator which takes it down into the hold. The line wants to reduce the longshore crew from 25 to eight, with perhaps two relief men.

They've begun to ship orange juice and wine in tankers and no longshoremen are needed to pipe such cargo into the waiting tank trucks. Even wood pulp, which used to be hauled in dry bulk, is in some cases soaked so that it can be carried as liquid, then dried on arrival.

In the last two years the number of man-hours worked in the port of New York fell by 2,000,000 and the spread of automation is only now beginning to be general. For the longshoremen it is not a question of turning the clock back on the docks but of guarding living standards in a new industrial revolution.

CLOSE THE REGISTER: In October the West Coast longshoremen shut down the piers for 24 hours to confer on the situation. On Nov. 18 all work was stopped on New York's waterfront for seven hours while 20,000 longshoremen marched to fill Madison Square Garden in an emergency rally.

Drawing by Fred Wright
"Our new electronic boss does everything our old boss did but go to Palm Beach for the winter."

Even office workers on some lines have demanded that the ship-owners retrain those employes dislodged by clerical machines.

The independent Intl. Longshoremen's Assn. on the East and Gulf coast is pressing three demands: (1) close the register of longshoremen; (2) allow full-scale industry-wide bargaining to "share the benefits" of increased production among workers and management; (3) pending the outcome of such negotiations, keeep the status quo on the size of work gangs.

The New York-New Jersey Waterfront Commission claims that it cannot close the register of longshoremen in the port, that it must grant any applicant the right to work. It refuses to grant the ILA's request that it recommend to the legislatures of both states that they take the necessary steps to limit waterfront labor, already in over-supply.

BRIDGES' VIEWS: The ILA's fight with the Grace lines over the size of work gangs went to arbitration over the union's protest. The union has insisted that the problems of automation cannot be settled by an arbitrator but only by industry-wide negotiations between shippers and the union. Last week ILA representatives walked out of the port arbitrator's office and said they would try for a settlement on the piers. The New York District Council of the ILA voted to stop handling whalebacks on a number of ship lines.

East Coast longshoremen have no job security other than membership in a work gang. Any reduction in gang size may therefore toss some men out of their jobs for an indefinite period. West Coast hiring halls guarantee registered longshoremen an equal share of whatever work is available.

On the West Coast the independent Intl. Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union has been wrestling with the problem for years. Last September Harry Bridges told the union's Columbia River District Council: "Cut down the hours unless we want the machine to enslave us. The answer to the machine is shorter hours with no cut in take-home pay. We have got to break with the past."

IT MAY BE TOO LATE: The past to which Bridges referred has hangovers among the longshoremen as well as the shippers. Ever since World War II longshoremen have clamored for overtime as the means to keep up with the spiraling cost of living. The union has pointed out that overtime, which used to be a penalty, has become a privilege. Automation, with its need to spread the work, is forcing a re-thinking.

Bridges has urged the rank-and-filers to get "out of the rut of long hours, night work and dangerous work," to stop "staggering around trying to keep up with living costs until, when we reach pension age, we are damn near dead." The ILWU has been hit by automation not only on the docks but in Hawaii's sugar industry where the work force has dropped from 30,000 to 13,500.

A SHARE IN THE PROFITS: The current contract negotiated by the ILWU last July reduced the work shift from nine hours to eight. When the contract expires next year the union may press for a six-hour day, not as a device to boost overtime earnings but as a maximum work shift. On both coasts the unions are demanding a share in the increased profits that come from automation, some formula that will boost the take-home pay to make up for the loss of overtime opportunities and training programs to fit longshoremen for the new skills of automation.

While most ports report a speed-up and a slackening of safety measures, as men compete for jobs and overtime, there is an awareness among some shippers, at least on the West Coast, that the problem must be faced around a conference table. The ILWU and the Pacific Maritime Assn. have reached tentative agreements under which the PMA "in principle" has agreeed to share the benefits of increased productivity and to limit the register of longshoremen. In return the ILWU has agreed not to interfere with experimental efforts at further mechanization. Talks are continuing. PMA President J. Paul St. Sure has called for national talks by representatives of the Teamsters, the ILWU, the ILA and shippers on both coasts.

LABOR UNITY ON DOCKS? At the October convention of the Propeller Club in San Francisco, top management spokesmen heard similar sentiments from Sen. Warren G. Magnuson (D-Wash.), chairman of the Senate's Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee. Magnuson predicted an even more rapid automation of the piers. He also called for trade with China as a means to bring prosperity to West Coast ports.

The crisis has brought closer the possibility of labor unity on the docks. Negotiations have been proceeding quietly between the ILA and the ILWU and, in the planning stage is a Conference on Transportation Unity to be attended by representatives of the two longshore unions plus the Teamsters and the National Maritime Union.

Of the unions involved only the NMU is in the merged AFL-CIO, but the situation is so grave that few leaders can afford to pay much attention to the official epithets of "communism and corruption" hurled by the merged movement's leaders at those unions it puts out. Epithets don't make jobs.

About that letter . . .

IN MID-NOVEMBER a mailing which included the Guardian Buying Service brochure went out to GUARDIAN readers. The response to the mailing has been slow and, as the holidays approach, there is always the possibility that the letter will be permanently buried under the avalanche of seasonal mail from all sources. Will you look in that famous pigeonhole where you put "must-answer" mail and send us your response today? It's the best way to say "Howdy" at this time of year.

—THE GUARDIAN

* * *

Terman reports on Soviet tour in Chicago meeting Dec. 5

MANDEL TERMAN, chairman of the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship, will report on his trip to the U.S.S.R. on Friday, Dec. 5, 8:15 p.m., at 32 W. Randolph. His report will be accompanied by color slides and tape recordings of interviews. Admission is 90c and the public is invited.

HIGH COURT TO RULE ON TOXIC DYE

Are you eating poisoned oranges?

ON NOV. 17 the Supreme Court took under advisement the question whether Florida and Texas growers could continue to color oranges with a dye that the Food and Drug Administration says is poisonous. The additive, Red-32, is a coal-tar dye which was banned from use on other foods in 1955 when it was discovered that cases of poisoning in children were due to the use of the substance on popcorn.

Florida and Texas growers, whose oranges are green-colored when ripe, have pleaded for special consideration. They claim the public will not buy oranges that are not orange in color and that the amount of Red-32 used is harmless.

In 1953 Congress passed a law permitting the use of Red-32 for three years provided the oranges were marked, "color added." In the interim the growers were asked to find a safe substitute. Three years later they returned with no substitute and Congress extended the grace period to March 1, 1959.

LETHAL TO DOGS: But in 1955, after experiments proved Red-32 lethal on dogs and the popcorn poisoning was discovered, the FDA banned its use in any foods, claiming that it was "not harmless but toxic."

The Florida Citrus Exchange took the FDA to the U.S. Court of Appeals to overturn the ruling. In July, 1957, the court held for the growers, saying that the ban applied only to mature oranges and that the dye was harmful only if consumed in large quantities.

The Dept. of Health, Education and Welfare, parent body of the FDA, appealed to the Supreme Court.

The problem of toxic effects of chemicals used in foods has been before Congress for six years. After extended hearings in September, amendments to the Food and Drug Act were enacted which put the burden of proof on the food industry as to the safety of additives. Under previous law it had been necessary for the FDA to find the chemicals harmful and institute court action against their use.

Still before the Congress is the need to appropriate sufficient funds for policing the new law.

Vie Nuove, Roma
"Buy an apple and help the unemployed!"

AN ON-THE-SPOT REPORT

Kashmir: India's still unresolved problem

PRIME MINISTER BAKHSHI (CENTER) ON A RURAL TOUR
He poses as a "man of the people" but his promises are unfulfilled

By Cedric Belfrage

SRINAGAR, KASHMIR

INDIA'S PREMIER NEHRU recently pointed to China's "tremendous progress" but said it was being made at the cost of individual freedom. India should not copy this "army camp" method but should nevertheless "really try to imbibe and display the same energy and enthusiasm" as the Chinese.

But the question is whether any people of imperialist-plundered Asia can liquidate their incredible material backwardness without using Chinese-type methods to end corruption at the top and arouse "energy and enthusiasm" at the bottom.

"NEW KASHMIR" MANIFESTO: India's northern state of Jammu and Kashmir (comprising also the Ladakh people on the borders of, and related to, Tibet) is one good place to study this question. Under British-protected Maharajahs, this was the most backward part of India when the imperialists and their princelings were booted out.

Kashmir, however, developed back in the '30's its own "National Conference" liberation movement, peasant- and worker-based and embracing all religions, with a program well in advance of the partly bourgeois All-India National Congress (Nehru's party).

In 1944 the Natl. Conference drafted a "New Kashmir" constitution and a socialist economic plan: "land to the tillers" without compensation to landlords; universal free education at all levels; nationalization of "all key industries"; abolition of child labor; equal and special rights for women; all-embracing social security and free medical care. It even specified the minimum amounts of food, clothing and housing for citizens.

In the "communal" riots which bathed India in blood after the creation of "Moslem" Pakistan (actually India still contains more Moslems than the main part of Pakistan), predominantly Moslem Kashmir distinguished itself as an oasis of Hindu-Moslem peace. It now has a special position among the states of free India, with its own constitution reflecting the "New Kashmir" blueprint but vaguer in many fundamental clauses. The central government permitted it alone to expropriate big landholdings (over 23 acres) without compensation and to make all education available free.

SHEIK ABDULLAH
The spotlight is on him again

PLEBISCITE RISKY: With its radical tendencies and strategic cold-war position next to China and the U.S.S.R., Kashmir continues to attract an unholy interest in Western chancelleries. India is castigated for refusing a plebiscite under "supervision" of foreign troops. India considers that Pakistan abdicated any moral claim in attempting to seize Kashmir by force (it still holds a small area west of the cease-fire line), in 1947 when the Natl. Conference had already chosen India but a peaceful plebiscite might still have been possible.

Today, India insists, a plebiscite would probably revive communal rioting throughout the sub-continent; and in any case look who's asking for a "democratic solution"—a state meshed into Dulles' Baghdad and SEATO pacts, a shambles of corruption, undemocratic from the start, and now a full-fledged military dictatorship threatening a new armed attack on Kashmir and with every progressive behind bars.

To anyone remotely democratic, the record clearly rules out Pakistan's claim. And yet a brief visit here, plus talks with informed persons in Delhi, shows that the "Kashmir problem" still exists and is not so simple as some Delhi officials seek to picture it.

INDEPENDENT KASHMIR? Just now the spotlight is again on Sheik Abdullah, the original leader and hero of the Natl. Conference. In an introduction to the "New Kashmir" manifesto which he fathered, Abdullah wrote of the "inspiration" of the U.S.S.R. in its nationalities policy and its "demonstration before our eyes that real freedom takes birth only from economic emancipation."

Pro-Kashmiri above all, Abdullah for years favored the accession to India but later became an increasingly bitter critic of India. In the conditions existing then and still today, with Kashmir partly occupied by a still-threatening army and UN "truce observers" rushing about in jeeps, Abdullah's imprisonment in 1953 was considered justified.

Released this year, he resumed his attacks on India and criticized the U.S.S.R. for supporting it on Kashmir; his trial on "conspiracy" charges with 24 others is expected to afford him an opportunity to clarify his present position, which apparently favors Kashmir independence. He is still popular with the intensely patriotic Kashmiris, and an independence plea from him will get broad emotional support.

Equally patriotic but more sophisticated Kashmiris, however, believe that without an ironclad guarantee from all neighboring states an "independent" Kashmir would become at best a puppet of great powers, at worst another Korea.

But why is India—granting as it does special status and subsidies to Kashmir and making good its food deficiencies—unable to make itself more popular? On all the evidence I do not believe that religious issues play a significant part; most Kashmiris are not interested in a "Moslem state." One factor is that they don't want anybody else's troops in their country—including India's, although the Indian army has behaved well and but for it the Pakistanis, who behaved barbarously in 1947, would have taken over.

But the most convincing sources here and in Delhi speak of another and deeper factor in this complex situation. They believe that the present Natl. Conference government of Kashmir, led by Bakhshi Ghulam Mohammad who succeeded (and jailed) Abdullah, is failing to implement the "New Kashmir" program which the people overwhelmingly supported.

PROMISES UNFULFILLED: This disillusionment led last year to the formation of a new party, the Democratic Natl. Conference, by a large body of Natl. Conference cadres headed by G. M. Sadiq, a minister in both the Abdullah and Bakhshi governments. The DNC indicts Pakistan as the betrayer of the Moslem peoples' world-wide struggle for liberty, rejects the referendum, and confirms the adherence to India.

At the same time it accuses the Bakhshi government of nepotism and graft, denial of free assembly, frame-ups of its opponents and corruption of trade unionism; of half-hearted implementation of land reform, misconduct of state industries and letting trade fall under "monopoly control of profiteers."

No itinerant scrivener can confirm these charges, but certainly Kashmir today is a far cry from the "New Kashmir" that was promised. The majority of peasants, now owning land they previously sharecropped for landlords, are handling cash for the first time but still miserably poor.

Credit and marketing cooperatives help, but only the most primitive implements are available and private monopolies and middlemen clearly dominate the outlets for farm and other products and skim off the cream.

Few new enterprises have come into being, and the silk factory which was already government-run under the British is less productive now than then.

Unemployment is rampant, medical facilities mostly prehistoric, factory and slum conditions appalling, workers' wages barely enough for subsistence; the women's liberation is snail-paced, and child labor continues.

All meetings of more than five persons must obtain a police permit. The education picture is brighter, with a great increase in schools and Srinagar's women's colleges as an outstanding example to all the lands struggling out of the **purdah** system.

THE KEY FIGURES: An intense struggle has developed between the former Natl. Conference colleagues Sadiq and Bakhshi, both of whom I interviewed. Each makes a strong impression in different ways. Bakhshi is a handsome rugged "man of the people" and master politician, who spends three days a week "talking and listening to the people." This has built up a potent Bakhshi machine and a "personality cult" but hardly leaves time for the immense executive tasks. Bakshi's two brothers are reputedly rupee millionaires, and the Central Labor Union president, who still draws three rupees (65c) a day as a woolen mill employe, is said to have garnered half a million by working in with the "BBC" (Bakhshi Brothers Corp).

Sadiq, a successful lawyer, is a more intellectual type with a reputation for honesty but without Bakhshi's folksy appeal. Far more radical and a 100% believer in "New Kashmir" principles, Sadiq is copiously red-baited by the Bakhshi press; Bakhshi meanwhile expresses pleasure at being called "communistic" by free-world ideologists. These men together with Abdullah will continue to hold the kleigs at this end of the drama.

Kashmir's precarious economic and social condition, despite Delhi's generous pump-primings, is only less certain than the fact that if Pakistan took over it would be infinitely worse. To India, and especially to Nehru who was once Abdullah's friend and still criticizes him with noteworthy moderation, Kashmir is a headache. My impresssion is that unless and until a wholehearted effort is made to implement the "New Kashmir" program, the headache will get worse.

Is Brown red?

SAN FRANCISCO, Calif. (AP)—Gov.-elect Edmund G. Brown got a request from the University of California's board of regents Thursday—that he have his background cleared by the FBI or the Dept. of Defense.

As governor, Brown will be ex-officio president of the regents.

"The university is engaged in a great many activities for the federal government which are of a secret nature and persons having access to information concerning these activities must have FBI or Department of Defense clearance," wrote Robert Underhill, board secretary.

Brown, retiring state attorney general, has been California's top law enforcement officer for the last eight years.

—Milwaukee Journal, 11/21

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THE REAL CHALLENGE TO U.S. FOREIGN POLICY—II

Soviet plan spurs economic competition

By Kumar Goshal

(Second of two articles)

MOSCOW'S NEW SEVEN-YEAR plan underscores the fact that the socialist countries pose to the U.S. not a military threat but an economic challenge, which the U.S. will have to meet, in Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Washington has not been unaware of this challenge. The Soviet Union has been competing with the U.S. for several years with aid in Asia and Africa. But the U.S. has been spending astronomical sums mostly for military supplies to feudal and unpopular governments, lining the pockets of unscrupulous Afro-Asian middlemen and landlords and provoking regional conflicts. The Soviets have concentrated largely on non-military economic aid.

The effectiveness of the socialist world's economic challenge was indicated in its recent aid and trade arrangements in Latin America, long a special U.S. preserve. For example, Moscow has granted Argentina a $100,000,000 credit for the purchase of heavy equipment for industry and raw materials.

Argentina has already bought from the U.S.S.R. equipment for the oil industry and contracted for two locomotives and 4,000 tons of steel rails. It will get 50,000 tons of broad gauge rail and two turbogenerators from Czechoslovakia, and 2,000,000 tons of Polish coal over the next four years.

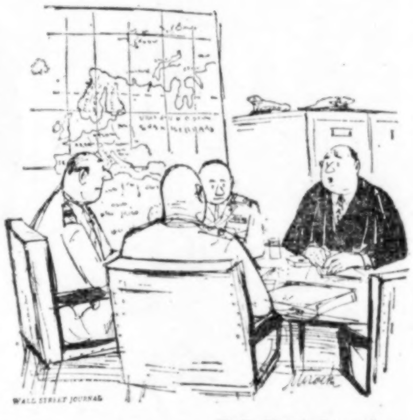
COFFEE AND OIL MIX: Brazil is swapping 300,000 bags of coffee for 15 Polish freighters. Last October in Prague it arranged for an increase in the sale of coffee, cocoa, cotton, hemp and sugar and for the purchase of Czechoslovakian tractors, light aircraft and industrial products. Brazil is arranging another deal involving 450,000 tons of Soviet oil. East Germany is planning to open a commercial trade office in Rio.

Uruguay has sharply increased its trade with the socialist countries. Oil from the Soviet Union keeps its transport rolling, electrical equipment from Hungary supplies power to its industry. It is getting newsprint from East Germany, Russia and Poland; consumer goods from Czechoslovakia, and chemicals from East Germany. The socialist world has replaced Britain as the largest buyer of Uruguayan wool.

The **Wall Street Journal** reported from Montevideo that prominent Latin American businessmen welcome increased trade with the socialist world. Noting a "similar step-up" in Asia and Africa, the **Journal** said:

"[Moscow's] plan to seek an 80% increase in Soviet industrial production in the next seven years . . . promises to boost Russia's ability to further step up its foreign trade and aid."

Of this Soviet challenge the N.Y. **Times** said: "In this period when the Soviet Union has emerged as a financier of Argentine oil development and of the building of the Aswan Dam our thinking and our policy require substantial readjustment from old attitudes born under different conditions."



Wall Street Journal

"Let's see if I have it right. We've got the intercontinental ballistic missile. But they must have it too; so therefore we've got to develop a missile that can intercept it. But if we can produce a successful interceptor, they can too, which means—Have I got it straight, so far?"

TWO CONFERENCES: An opportunity to present a readjusted U.S. foreign policy came at the Colombo Plan conference in Seattle and the Inter-American conference in Washington, both of which convened as Soviet Premier Khrushchev was explaining Moscow's seven-year plan. But Washington was not interested.

The Colombo Plan, organized in 1950 as a British Commonwealth economic venture, now includes 20 countries. Six of them, among them the U.S. and Britain, are "donors" who are supposed to contribute to the economic development of the 14 Asian members, such as India, Burma, Indonesia and the Philippines. The Plan's purpose was to demonstrate, as the **Times** said, "that economic progress can be achieved more readily in free societies than under communism."

But in eight years the donors seem to have supplied only "expert advisers" and a few technicians. The **Times** said: "The aim has had little impact on the daily lives of the impoverished millions [of Asia]."

WHAT THEY WANTED: The Colombo Plan's Asian members came to Seattle with the hope of obtaining long-term basic aid for industrialization. The 21 Latin American delegates came to the Inter-American conference in Washington to discuss investments and long-term price agreements as a way out of their predicament brought about by an economy based on export of raw materials and import of finished goods from the U.S. The export is constantly at the mercy of fluctuating prices and quota restrictions dictated by their industrialized northern neighbor, whom they also accuse of hiking prices of manufactured goods they buy.

What both conferences got were lectures from President Eisenhower and Secy. Dulles on the merits of capitalism and an exhortation to create "a favorable climate" for U.S. private investment. Washington gilded the profit lily for the U.S. investor by telling him he would no longer have to pay to Uncle Sam the equivalent of tax concessions granted him abroad.

AND CHINA TOO: U.S. capital has been interested only in high profit investment in raw materials in Asia and Latin America, especially oil. Chairman Donald David told the Committee for Economic Development last October that in 1957, out of a total private American investment abroad of $4,000,000,000, the amount of non-oil investment that went to all of Asia, all the Middle East and all of Africa amounted to about $70,000,000. He added:

"At this rate, we will never build multi-faceted, non-socialist economies faster than under the beguilingly simple Communist blueprint."

In addition to the "beguilingly simple blueprint," the needy nations also had before them the example of China's achievements with Soviet cooperation.

Nine years ago China produced not a single aspirin; today it is self-sufficient in penicillin and antibiotics. Last year China manufactured not a single tractor; this year it has turned out 20,000 and next year's goal is 200,000. Its home-made backyard blast furnaces have been multiplying so fast that pig iron output statistics become obsolete in 24 hours.

China itself has extended a helping hand to other nations. It supplied the Burmese with equipment and technicians to build a cotton textile plant; Chinese engineers are constructing highways and factories in Yemen, and designing mills and factories in Cambodia.

STUDY IN CONTRAST: An example of U.S. aid in contrast to Soviet and Chinese methods was furnished in a Washington announcement last week. It said that the U.S. will open a show in New Delhi Dec. 10 to teach the Indians the ways of capitalism. Shops in the show will teach welding, dry-cleaning, furniture making, gold-plating, the making of milk and ice cream from dried milk and butter fat—and how to make doughnuts. This was designed to "stimulate hope for higher living standards among India's millions" who need clothing and milk and grain before they can do anything with them.

It is not surprising that Asia's eyes are turning increasingly towards the Soviet Union. Columnist Walter Lippmann reported that Moscow was so full of delegations from Asia that it had taken on the air of "being the capital of a new order of things" among all Asians. Now, with Moscow sparing no pains to catch up with the U.S., and the U.S. doggedly trying to maintain things as they are, is it difficult to see why Moscow wants and needs peace and Washington seems to feel it has to keep the world in turmoil rather than come to terms with the socialist world?

Washington's refusal to reappraise its policy means one thing: it fears Soviet and Chinese success more than it expects the failure so often predicted by Dulles.

Confusion on a high level

"WE ARE ALL [God's] children . . . In joining hands against human suffering, we fulfill His teachings [and] respond to our common conviction that man is not a mere particle of matter, that he has a spiritual origin and destiny which bind him to his fellow men."

From President Eisenhower's address to the Colombo Plan conference in Seattle, 11/10.

"PERHAPS THE MOST puzzling paradox of our time is the fact that the wholly materialistic Soviet approach to life has acquired an almost spiritual quality in the minds of hundreds of millions of people; while our civilization, based on the spiritual concept of man created in the image of God, has acquired the reputation of being hard, cold, and often inhumanly materialistic."

From address by chairman Donald K. David to the Committee for Economic Development, on A Plan for Waging the Economic War, 10/17.

The Berlin story

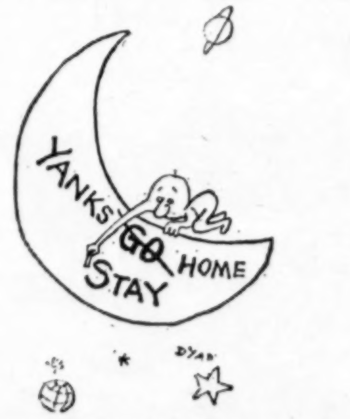
(Continued from Page 1)

lin. French Information Minister Soustelle said that the Soviet proposals would "detach" Berlin from West Germany. Bonn's Chancellor Adenauer said "the Western allies will reject every proposal aimed to make Berlin defenseless." West Berlin's Mayor Brandt found the proposals "unbearable."

Some Washington officials were said to believe that the Moscow proposals were a diplomatic ice-breaker and a preface to a larger Soviet plan still to be unfolded for a neutralized Germany under UN auspices. James Reston in the N.Y. **Times** reported a feeling that Moscow would agree to UN troops occupying a wide neutralized zone in Central Europe. There was also talk about a compromise based on a phased withdrawal of Soviet and Western troops from Germany and the banning of nuclear weapons to German forces for several years.

Reston added that some U.S. officials held out the possibility of a new European security treaty including agreements on controlled nuclear test ban and machinery to prevent surprise attacks.

GAITSKELL AND RAPACKI: British Labor Party leader Gaitskell offered a five-point plan based largely on the one put forward by Polish Foreign Minister Rapacki. This would include: (1) gradual withdrawal of foreign troops from a nuclear-free Central Europe; (2) German reunification; (3) a Big Four pact guaranteeing the frontiers of the neutral zone; (4) withdrawal of West Germany and Eastern European states from NATO and the Warsaw Pact. The GUARDIAN's Gordon Schaffer reported from London:



Drawing by Dyad in London Worker

"Talks I had with politicians, trade union leaders and other public figures gave this outstanding impression: the Soviet proposals will lead to a powerful demand here in Britain for a meeting of heads of state, and the revised Rapacki plan has come to the forefront as the most practical starting point for any serious approach to the German problem."

Within West Germany itself several influential figures—including prominent members of Adenauer's own party—were becoming convinced of the necessity of dealing directly with East Germany on reunification.

From Berlin Gaston Coblenz reported to the N.Y. **Herald Tribune** that under such pressure, in a little-publicized note to Moscow three weeks ago, Adenauer was forced to make several concessions towards reunification discussion with the GDR. Coblenz also said no one in West Germany now believes in U.S. assurances that Bonn's entry into NATO would enable the West to dictate German reunification terms to Moscow.

ENOUGH OF FANTASY: The basic difference in the approach on Germany is this: the U.S. prefers a united Germany under Adenauer, armed to the teeth as the spearhead of the anti-Soviet NATO alliance; the Soviet Union prefers a socialist and neutralized Germany. A way out of this impasse was suggested by Premier Khrushchev at an unusual conference Nov. 27.

Before 250 Soviet and foreign correspondents Khrushchev said Moscow did not indulge in the "fantasy" that West Germany could be persuaded to become socialist, and the West should not cling to its "fantasies" that East Germany could be made capitalist. He also acknowledged the different economic viewpoints in West and East Berlin.

Therefore, he said, Moscow was proposing a confederation of West and East Germany, a "free city" status for West Berlin and socialist status for East Berlin, leaving it to the German people to resolve their differences in time.

Khrushchev also said that, as "realistic people," the Soviet leaders did not expect the Western governments to be enthusiastic about Moscow's proposal. But he hoped "all who favor peace" would find it acceptable.

Monthly Review meeting to hear Israeli leader in N.Y.

ISRAEL GALILEE, former commander of the Haganah, a member of Israel's parliament, will speak on "Israel in the Middle East Arena," and Dr. Joshua Kunitz, author, expert on Jewish history and Soviet literature, will speak on "Reflections on Soviet Jewry" Wed., Dec. 10, at 8:30 p.m., at Palm Gardens, 306 W. 52 St., N.Y.C. The meeting is sponsored by Monthly Review Associates. Admission is $1 in advance from **Monthly Review**, 66 Barrow St.; and $1.50 at the door.

Herblock, Harrington rate top billing in newest c

IN THE LIVELY ARTS the political cartoonist is at his best when humor and caricature give extra depth to his comments just as the topical and gag cartoon is most effective when the funny situation or the grotesque exaggeration stirs up socio-political echoes. In the first of these fields Herblock is unquestionably the best editorial cartoonist in the U.S. just as Ollie Harrington leads as a panel cartoonist commenting on the way life really is led on and beneath the surface of our Madison Ave. simonizing. Both have come out with books well-suited to a non-escapist holiday spirit. Herblock's **Special for Today*** is his third, Harrington's **Bootsie and Others**** is a long-overdue first.

In addition to some 430 cartoons, Herblock (Herbert Block) offers about 30,000 words of commentary, not all as inspired as his drawings but all thoughtful and sometimes sharp. He says: "I've been impressed by the Dulles agility and endurance as he has leaped from crisis to crisis and from brink to brink, while carrying the whole State Department in his hat . . . On some occasions there's scarcely been time to return from an area and issue a glowing report on it before it has blown up . . . In studying our national and international affairs, an observer is likely to be struck by the paradox of how we could have been so frightened and so complacent, both at the same time."

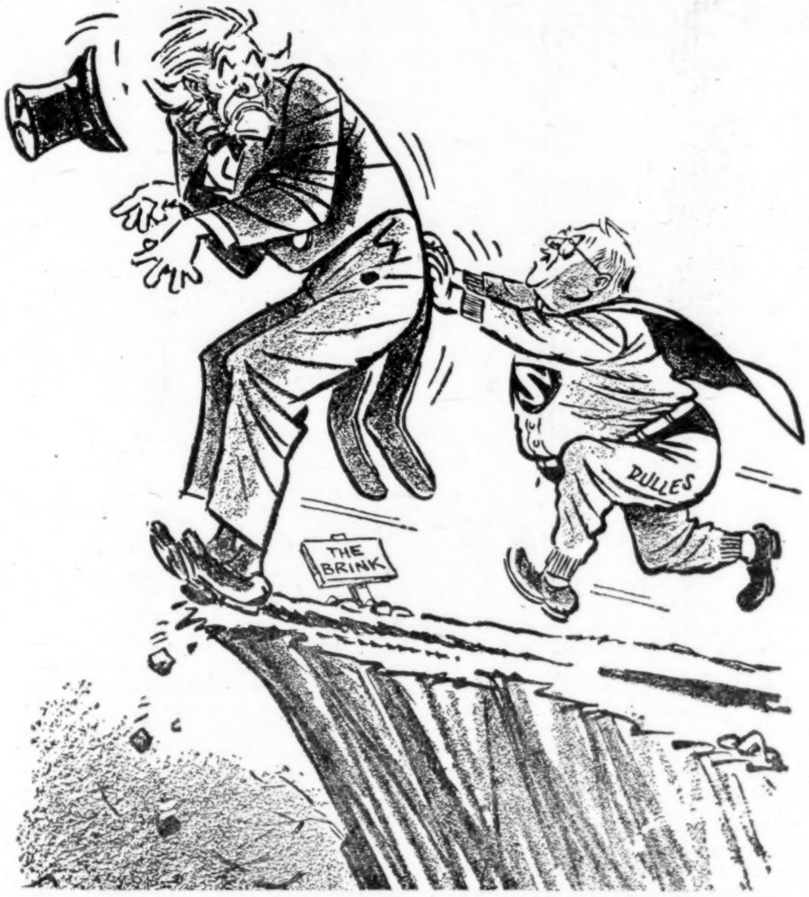
BOOTSIE, a favorite for 20 years with the readers of one of America's largest Negro papers, the Pittsburgh **Courier**, is introduced by Langston Hughes as "typical of the trials and tribulations of the average Negro from Lenox Avenue in Harlem or Hastings Street in Detroit to Central Avenue in Los Angeles or Rampart in New Orleans—woman problems, pocketbook problems, landlady problems, and race problems are the same. And fat little Bootsie, with his surprised little eyes, is always staring problems in the face . . . As a social satirist in the field of race relations, Ollie Harrington is unsurpassed."

Even so small a sampling as the two Harringtons reproduced here, out of the hundred or so offered in the book, are enough to suggest the quality of the Bootsie series. Realism without stodginess, slam-bang characterizations that seem to magnify and reduce at the same time, and lovingly-drawn details of background that can make you smell the furniture polish or sneeze at the dust are presented richly in every drawing.

NEWSMAN Gerald W. Johnson's **The Lines Are Drawn***** reproduces all 86 of the cartoons which have won Pulitzer prizes from 1922 to 1958 with an intelligent and generally penetrating discussion of cartooning in America, the class influences on it and on the committees which have awarded the prizes.

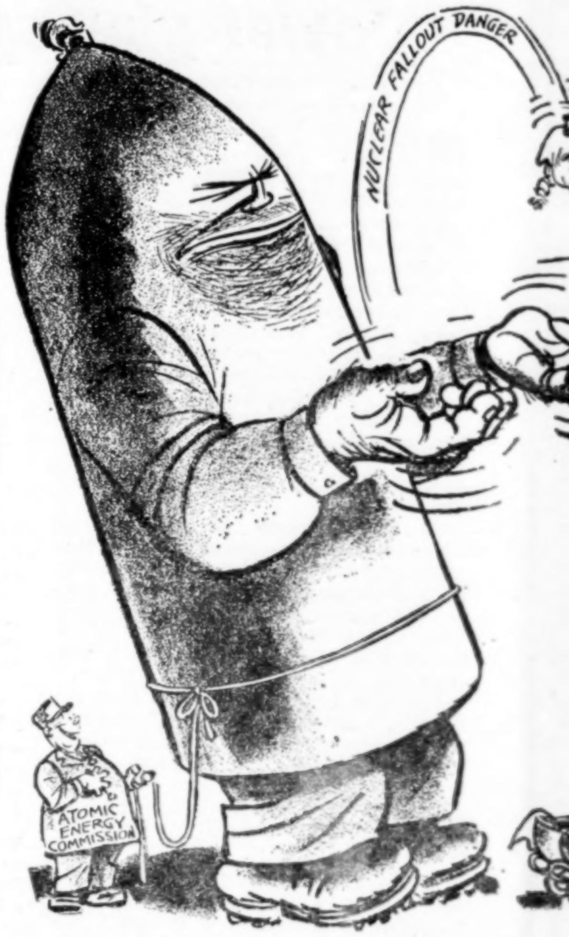
He notes that the American middle class finds wisdom and goodness in tranquility and immorality in disturbance. "The persons charged with the duty of selecting a cartoon that meets the high approval of the American people have, practically without exception, chosen a non-controversial one . . . Unfortunately, satire is controversial by definition, and the best cartoon is usually sharply satirical. It follows that the best cartoon is ruled out, as far as official distinction is concerned."

Johnson's socially informed text strikes a fairly good balance with the ostrichism of the cartoon selectors on the Pulitzer committees, and makes the book worthwhile as a cultural document. He concludes that "the 36 cartoons in this series should therefore be accepted, not as a history of the art, nor as a political history, but as a tracing of the sinuousities of upper-middle-class opinion for the period covered . . . The series includes no cartoon by Boardman Robinson and none by Art Young; and a history of American cartooning with no reference to those heavyweight champions would be a manifest absurdity."



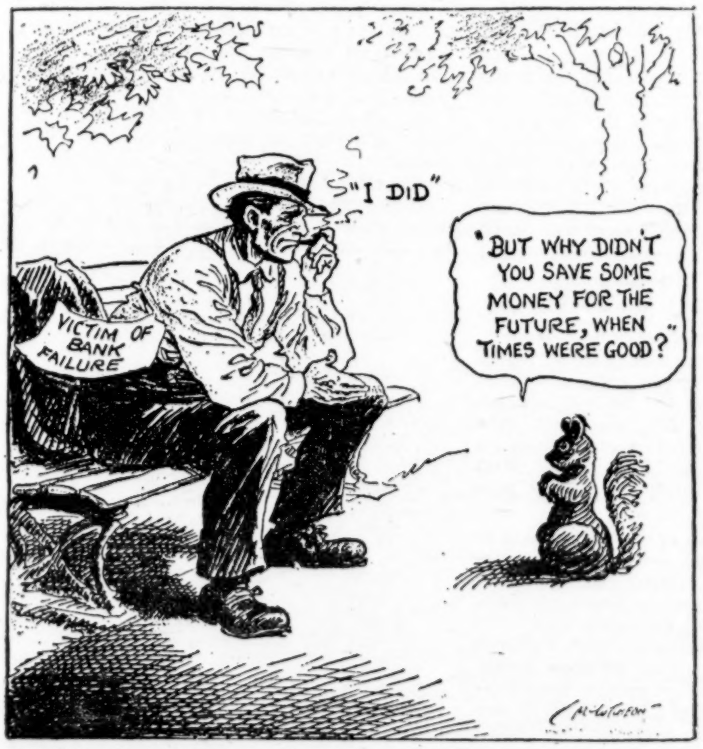
Drawing from Herblock's "Special for Today"

"DON'T BE AFRAID—I CAN ALWAYS PULL YOU BACK."



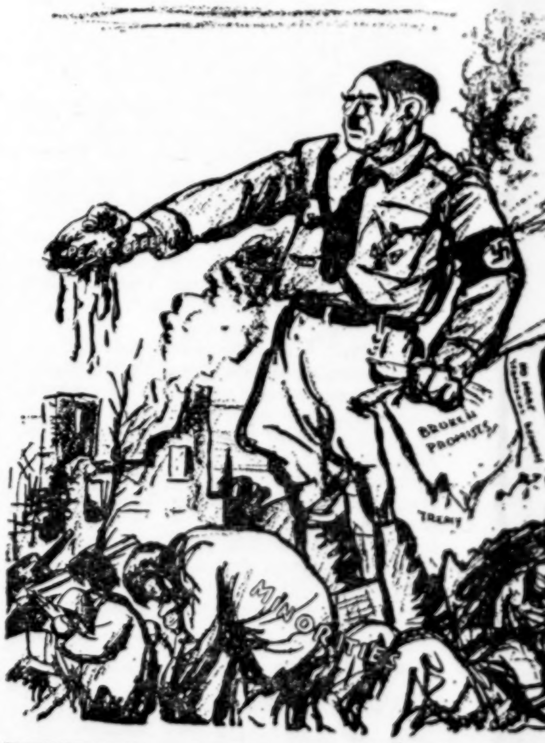
Drawing from Herblock's "

"LOOK LADY—YOU DON'T SEE ME WORRY

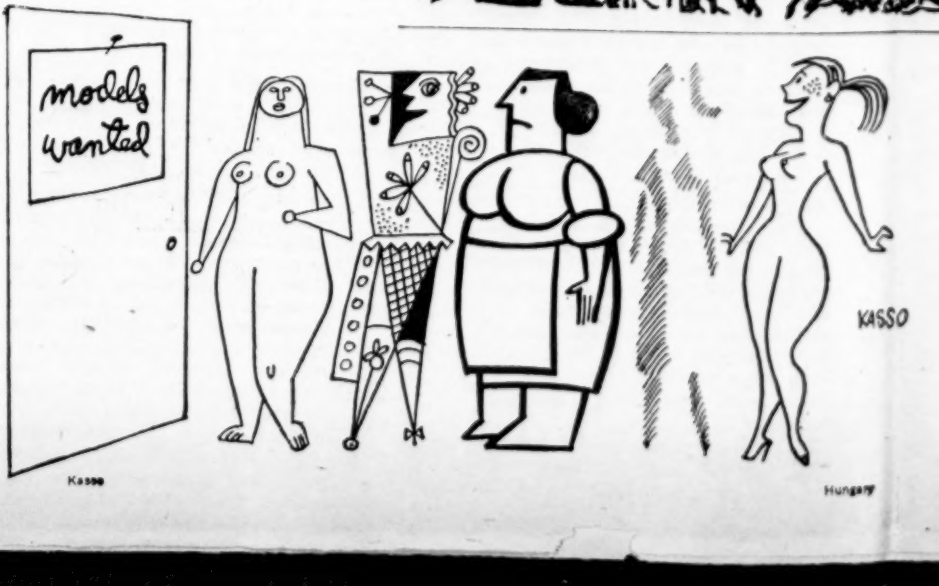

"I DID"
"BUT WHY DIDN'T YOU SAVE SOME MONEY FOR THE FUTURE, WHEN TIMES WERE GOOD?"
VICTIM OF BANK FAILURE
McCutcheon

(l.) John McCutcheon in "The Lines Are Drawn"
A WISE ECONOMIST ASKS A QUESTION

(r.) Edmund Duffy in "The Lines Are Drawn"



(below) Kasso in "Slightly Out of Order."



Slightly **Out of Order**, *** edited by Ralph Shikes, offers a good selection of cartoons from European artists belonging to the **Association Internationale des Humoristes.** They follow our local patterns generally except for sex which, as Shikes points out, "they don't look upon as something to be taken vicariously. They think it is to be lived." Vive all cartoonists as well as the difference.

—Robert Joyce

* *SPECIAL FOR TODAY, by Herbert Block. Simon & Schuster, New York. 255 pp. $3.95.*

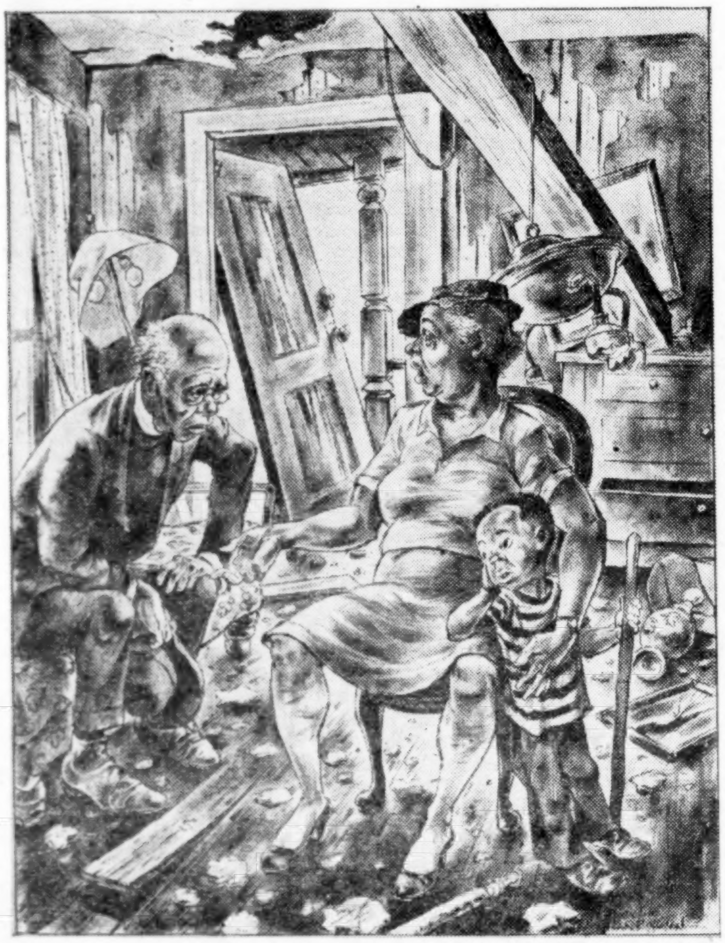
***BOOTSIE AND OTHERS, by Ollie Harrington. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York. $3.50.*

****THE LINES ARE DRAWN, by Gerald Johnson. J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia, N.Y. 224 pp. $4.95.*

*****SLIGHTLY OUT OF ORDER, edited by Ralph E. Shikes. Viking Press, N. Y. 96 pp. $3.50.*

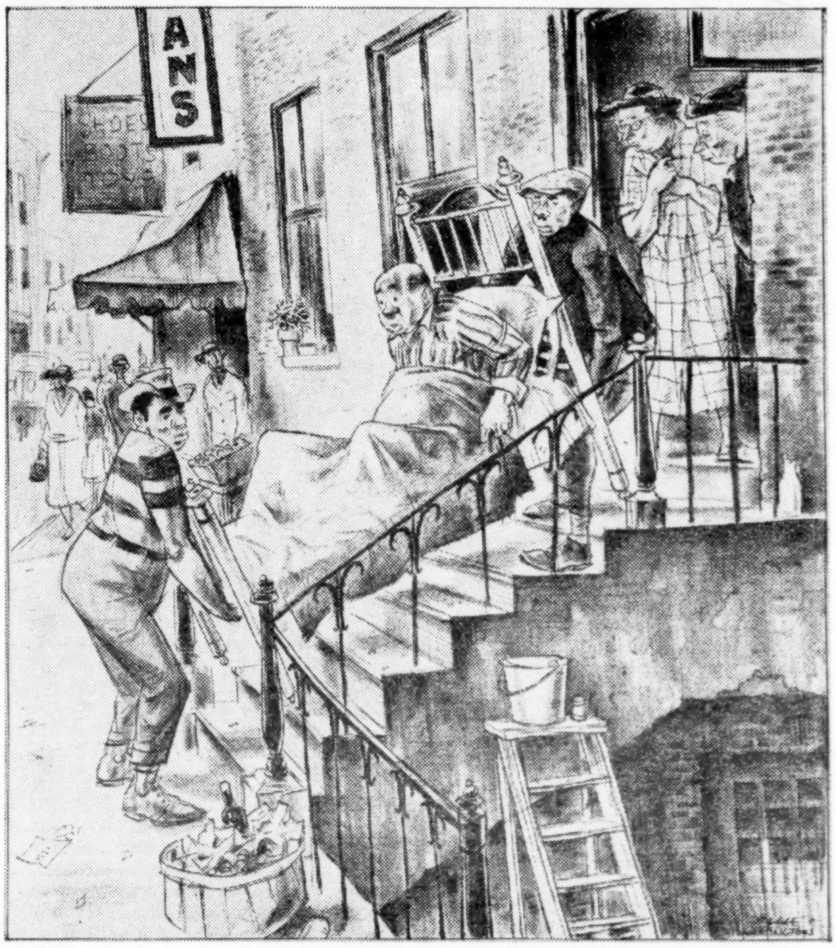
t cartoon books; Pulitzer Prize winners collected

rblock's "Special for Today"
WORRYING."



Drawing from Ollie Harrington's "Bootsie and Others"

"At first we thought the Russians had went an' dropped one on us. You can imagine how relieved we were when we found out it was only the White Citizens' Council bombin'' our house agin'."



Drawing from Ollie Harrington's "Bootsie and Others"

"Goodness gracious look at that—When Sis Hawkins decides to evict one of the roomers she just naturally don't waste no time, do she?"

This is the man McCrackin

ON DEC. 1 Rev. Maurice Findley McCrackin spent his 53rd birthday in a Cincinnati jail. He faced an indefinite sentence for contempt of court and people all over the country were wondering what kind of man it was whose refusal to pay taxes for war had placed him behind bars and on the nation's uneasy conscience.

Maurice McCrackin was born at a place called Storms, Ohio, near the town of Chillicothe. His family lived in one of the two houses at Storms; the only other structure was a grain elevator operated by his father. When the elder Mr. McCrackin died, his wife moved the family to Monmouth, Ill., where she ran a boarding house for students of Monmouth College.

Young Maurice earned his first wages waiting on the students' tables. He attended the local schools and Monmouth College and then went on to McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago. He became a Presbyterian minister and spent five years in Iran as a missionary. In a year he learned Persian and then taught geology, ethics and English to high school pupils.

FOR TEN YEARS after his return to the United States in 1935, Rev. McCrackin held pastorates at Kirkwood, Ill., Hammond, Ind., and Chicago. In June, 1945, he went to Cincinnati to become the first pastor of the merged West Cincinnati Presbyterian Church and St. Barnabas Episcopal Church, and to direct the church-affiliated Findlay St. Neighborhood House.

Throughout Cincinnati the soft-spoken minister is known to thousands as "Mac." He has been quick to support every program to improve the working and living conditions of the working people of the city. Living in the West End slum community, largely inhabited by Negroes, he has been a tireless foe of discrimination.

Rev. McCrackin is a disciple of Mahatma Gandhi. While in jail recently awaiting a psychiatric examination he read Thoreau's **Walden,** particularly the essay, "On the Duty of Civil Disobedience." He also refused to take any food on the ground that "it is my belief I must fast during my troubled hours."

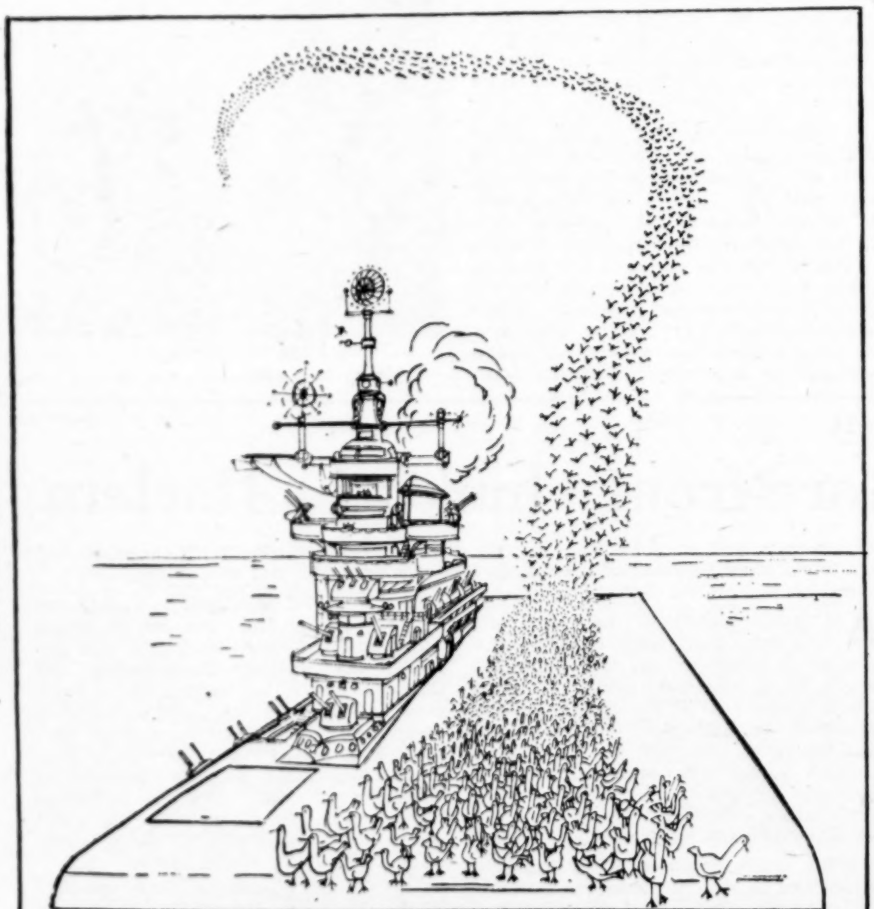
INDICATIONS ARE that the government is just as troubled as Rev. McCrackin about the social issues his protest has raised. The Cincinnati **Enquirer** reported that the Internal Revenue Service and the U.S. Attorney's office had never had a case like this one and were "in a dither over how to collect the minister's taxes."

The government, of course, is not so much concerned with the small amount of taxes Rev. McCrackin has refused to pay for the past ten years. But it is not inconceivable that the minister's example might inspire others to similar actions.

MEANWHILE, Rev. McCrackin insisted he was bound by a higher law than a civil law which supports "a system which is evil and which threatens the existence of humanity." And one of his court-appointed attorneys pointed out that "he is resolute. I believe he would stick by this if the penalty were death."

Rev. McCrackin, himself, summed up his case in these words: "If I can say that Jesus would support conscription, that He would throw a hand grenade into a group of men, that He would drive men out of a cave with a flamethrower, then I not only have a right to do these things, but, as a Christian, I am obliged to do them. But if I believe that Jesus would do none of these things, then I have no choice, if I am a follower of His, but to refuse at whatever personal cost to support war. This means I will not serve in the armed forces nor will I voluntarily give my money to help make war possible."

KASSO



Pouzet in "Slightly Out of Order"

PUERTO RICANS IN NEW YORK'S EAST HARLEM
In their island to the south "they look absolutely natural"

ACCIDENTALLY MALICIOUS

Puerto Ricans downgraded

IT IS ODD that a **New Yorker** contributor should so completely shed his sophistication when he takes the Lenox Av. subway uptown. Christopher Rand customarily writes bright copy for the "Reporter at Large" department of the **New Yorker.** He undertook a more probing job of journalism when he wrote a series on the Puerto Rican for his magazine. That series, plus some additional comments, has been put out in book form* and it reads like the notes of a well-meaning but not too well-informed tourist.

He constantly "discovers" the commonplace and mistakes the obvious for the exotic. For example, he thinks it worth noting that Puerto Ricans looking for a place to live concentrate on those neighborhoods "handy to one or more subways—subways being the Puerto Rican lifelines, as late afternoon travelers on the IRT need not be told." He seems unaware that other elements of the population have the same amusing penchant for the cheapest transportation.

SINCE REPORTER Rand undertook this survey without knowing Spanish he describes the talk of women as a "soprano babble" and does a bit of babbling himself, about a Columbus Day tribute which seems pointless because he doesn't know a word that is being said. The colors of Puerto Rican women's clothes impress him. The women wear bright scarves over their heads and their skirts swish, apparently in ways unknown to other women. But Rand assures us that however strange these people may seem in New York, in Puerto Rico "they look absolutely natural against their green background."

Throughout the book Rand frequently sounds as if he is describing the protective coloration phenomena of strange jungle creatures. His points of reference are less than scholarly. He describes Gov. Munoz Marin as "like the Mexicans one sees in cartoons." He judges the "primitiveness" of life in San Juan by the fact that a porter at the airport put his typewriter upside-down on the cart.

HIS SUMMATION of Puerto Rico's history and politics is swift but that is as much as one can say for it. He is apparently unaware that Munoz Marin's party took power as an independence movement and adopted the notion of a commonwealth very late in life. He writes off Vito Marcantonio as one who "played the demagogue on Puerto Rican issues—urging the island's independence, for example." He makes no distinction between Nationalists and Independentistas.

As a tourist he "discovers" the rat-ridden slums of Harlem but when he goes to the Island he is entranced by the rat-ridden slum of La Perla which, because it is on the shores of the sparkling Caribbean, he calls a "paradise of slums."

Rand's book is uncluttered by statistics and un-confused by too many facts. He points out with considerable accuracy but not much profundity that Puerto Ricans come north because there is a great deal of unemployment in Puerto Rico and "able-bodied men with any ambition naturally abhor that situation." Rand looks about him and ties up the migration with the world tide from the countryside to the cities. He describes this development as "a general flight away from Nature and the primitive."

SINCE RAND does not speak Spanish his sources are those Puerto Ricans who will talk to him in English and for the most part, the Continental doctors, nurses and social workers who observe the Puerto Rican from a distance. This kind of guide flavors his observations so that even an athletic meet he attends at San Juan has a dangerous thrill for him. He writes: "Many in the crowd, I felt, were getting rather excited, but it seemed a harmless mood that could lead to no trouble." Reporter Rand had a close shave, the reader feels.

The author is not afraid of the sweeping generality which makes the Puerto Rican look charming but not quite civilized, passionate but unsportsmanlike, happy in his primitive island.

The most that can be said for this book is that it does not seem to be deliberately malicious, just accidentally so. The Puerto Rican who has endured so many tourists will survive this one.

—**Elmer Bendiner**

**THE PUERTO RICANS, by Christopher Rand. Oxford University Press, 417 Fifth Av., New York 16, N.Y. 178 pp. $3.75.*

BOOKS

An American radical tells his own story

I SPEND MOST of my time criticizing Big Business, the Government, apologist economists. With this conditioning it is usually difficult for me to say nice things about written works.

A few months ago I dropped in at my publisher's to check on book sales at the very moment Joe North landed there, together wth the first copies of his new book, **No Men Are Strangers.*** I bought the first copy sold.

I was so moved by the book that I was tempted into this doubly rare venture—for me—of favorable commentary on a non-economic work.

The book is 35 years of autobiography of a man who started as a shipyard worker and continues as a genuine reporter and literary figure of the working class.

WITHOUT DECLAMATION, by the enriched presentation of people and actions, Joe gave me a bit of the strength of his many heroes. They begin with his own locomotive-builder father, his mother, and his next-door neighbor, the Negro washerwoman, Mrs. Trippett. They include the unemployed workers of 1930 and their Communist organizers, the auto strikers and the Lincoln Brigade of 1937-38.

The Mayor of Manzanillo, Cuba, "seemed in his mid-thirties, slim to the point of emaciation, dark, with sunken eyes in a bony, tan face." In a few pages he emerges as a giant of a man, who teaches Joe, and through Joe's graphic account, will teach tens of thousands the deep, bitter essence of imperialism and the struggle against it.

And then his meeting with the Negro sharecroppers of Alabama. What people! The kind who won the Montgomery bus fight, and will perform deeds even more valorous and history-making.

A MAN who wants to change society must know all layers, not only his own side. Through the years Joe North has been able to converse with people of all viewpoints, of all classes, in such a way as to maintain genuine contact,

One of the high spots of this book is Joe's war-time interview with Bernard Baruch. The variety of people North has met, the depth of his probing, from men of great prominence to casual traveling companions, is a minor miracle in itself. Charlie Chaplin, Art Young, a young Catholic engineer on a Liberty ship, the man who executed Sacco and Vanzetti, a major who punched another officer for an anti-Semitic remark—but with a wholly unexpected sequel—all these are among the dramatis personae of this book. They really come alive, they really illuminate the stage of history, each in his alloted few paragraphs or pages.

I HAVE HEARD enough sad comment about tired old radicals. I think thousands of these old-timers, veterans of the 1930's and before, still have a future of great creative action; and that they will be joined by hundreds of thousands of the newer generation, now beginning to stir with new winds of hope and progress, of revolt against injustice and war.

This confidence is fed by many experiences and people—of which reading this book is the latest but not the least.

—**Victor Perlo**

**NO MEN ARE STRANGERS, by Joseph North. International Publishers, 381 Fourth Ave., New York 10. 256 pp. $3.50.*

JOSEPH NORTH
He writes of people in action

LANGSTON HUGHES' NEW NOVEL

A story of a store-front church in Harlem

IF AMERICAN Negroes were to bestow upon their creative writers such titles as Poet Laureate or People's Writer, Langston Hughes would be a likely candidate for both. His literary production is prodigious. Books of poetry, anthologies of folklore, picture histories, juveniles, plays, short story collections, librettos and novels almost overtake each other as they reel off his hot typewriter. On top of all this, he has managed a busy lecture schedule, occasional poetry recordings and recent night club appearances devoted to the merger of poetry and jazz.

It is not surprising that the quality of such quantity is not uniformly excellent. **Tambourines to Glory*** is certainly one of Hughes' lesser efforts. It is a minor treatment of one of the major social outcroppings of the last two decades: the unorthodox, non-denominational, evangelistic gospel church in the urban Negro community.

The plot is a rather thin contrivance spun around wine-drinking, man-loving Laura Wright Reed and trance-bound, long-suffering Essie Belle Johnson. These two kitchenette neighbors in a Harlem tenement parlay Laura's brass, Essie's voice and an $18.50 gilt-edge Bible into a small fortune and a big crime: murder.

AS THEY ABANDON the relief rolls and raise their church from street corner to apartment to an abandoned movie house, they carry along with them Sister Birdie Lee, as energetic a gospel-drummer as God ever had in any of His kingdoms; Big-Eyed Buddy Lomax, Laura's young lover and the church's link with the downtown numbers' bosses, and pretty Marietta, Essie's teen-age daughter recently up from the South.

When Buddy steals $100 from Laura's purse and taunts her with his infidelities, she kills him with malice aforethought and with Essie's switchblade knife. Her efforts to pin the crime on Essie fail. Laura winds up behind bars, repentant. Essie becomes sole high priestess of the Tambourine Tabernacle and sets out really to save souls, which is what she intended in the first place.

Hughes' social commentary depends largely on his penchant for the sardonic twist, his mastery of the bitter-sweet flavor of Negro life. Here, however, he relies too heavily on language and too little on life to convey his message. And the language is not always apt.

"LET'S WE ASCEND," would fall naturally from the lips of Negro inhabitants of Charleston, the Sea Islands, the territory surrounding the Ogeechee River, or Bahamians, Jamaicans and their Florida relations. But it doesn't ring true when spoken by Virginia-born Laura Reed. And such renditions as "from Genesis through to Tabulations," and "Laura's going to have nervous prostitution if she don't watch out," belong where they probably originated—in a minstrel show.

Tambourines to Glory does not live up to its jacket description as "a fictional expose of 'gospel racketeers,' preying upon the gullibility of simple people." But Hughes is an able craftsman and the reading is easy. Taken for what it is—a literary divertissement—some readers may use it for a half-evening of light, after-dinner reading.

—**Louis E. Burnham**

**TAMBOURINES TO GLORY, a novel by Langston Hughes. The John Day Co., 62 W. 45th St., New York 36, N.Y. 188 pp. $3.50.*

Cleveland meeting

(Continued from Page 1)

"one nondescript brew." SP-SDF-ISL speakers failed to find adherents for condemnation of the Soviet Union and countries in its orbit for "tyranny." A Negro auto worker from Detroit derided this point of view, noting the absence of race discrimination in the socialist countries and recalling the honors heaped on Paul Robeson and Dr. W. E. B. DuBois in Czechoslovakia and the U.S.S.R.

The Conference began with an open preparations committee meeting Fri., Nov. 28 at the Tudor Arms Hotel in Cleveland's university section, and a reception that evening. Sessions on "Electoral Activity and Advancing Labor's Independent Political Action," "Civil Rights and Liberties" and "What Socialists Can Do Together Toward Peace" occupied Saturday. A well-programmed public meeting was held that evening. Sunday morning was devoted to "Where Do We Go from Here?" The Conference adjourned Sunday afternoon with unanimous agreement to designate the Cleveland initiating group as a Committee of Correspondence to draft and circulate the Conference discussions, study and report on questions raised and to convene a second conference within a year.

POLITICS, U.S.A.: The electoral session heard reports on their respective independent campaigns by the Rev. Joseph King of Chicago, for Congress; John T. McManus of New York, Independent-Socialist candidate for governor; and Dr. Holland Roberts of San Francisco, who polled some 400,000 votes last spring in a statewide contest for California Director of Public Instruction. Vincent Hallinan, Progressive Party candidate for president in 1952 and director of Holland Roberts' campaign this year, discussed the California campaigns which beat the Right-to-Work proposal and replaced Republican Sen. William Knowland and Governor Goodwin Knight with Democrats. Hallinan, an ardent opponent of Knowland, could nevertheless find no great gain in his Democratic successor to the Senate, former Rep. Clair Engle. The Democratic Party in the state Hallinan declared to be dominated by the Giannini Bank of America interests in the north, and oil interests represented by Ed Pauley in the south. As for the Democratic sweep nationally, he predicted that this would "spell the end of integration in the South" because of the need to hold the Dixiecrats in the party for the 1960 Presidential campaign.

Arnold Johnson, national legislative director of the Communist Party, said the national Democratic sweep was regarded as a great accomplishment by labor, intended as a mandate to end jimcrow, reduce the war budget and end Dulles' brink-of-war foreign policy, halt McClellan labor inquisitions, knock the right-to-work clause from the Taft-Hartley law and extend employment. Another Communist spokesman called these hopes "illusory" but both urged socialist participation in labor's effort to win these objectives from a Democratic congress. Both held forth as their party's ultimate objective a labor-farmer party based on mass breakaways of labor from the Democratic party.

OHIO'S STORY: Richard Tussey, national representative of the Mechanics Educational Society of America (MESA), AFL-CIO, with 20,000 members in the Cleveland area, described the defeat of Ohio's right-to-work proposal as a grassroots effort by Ohio labor, confronted with a situation in which old-line AFL-CIO leadership had previously endorsed old party candidates who later supported the anti-union security right-to-work measure. The special statewide United Organized Labor of Ohio, which fought the measure and manned every voting precinct in the state on Election Day to insure its defeat, contained not only every AFL-CIO union in the state, but also the unaffiliated United Mine Workers and Railway Brotherhoods.

As an outcome of the UOLO effort, a statewide campaign is now in progress to enlist rank-and-file labor in Labor Representation Committees "to work for and support independent labor candidates for office wherever feasible and to build an independent Labor Party."

SOCIALISTS VS. DEMOCRATS: In the floor discussion following the foregoing presentations an SWP spokesman, William Warde of California, regretted the "disintegration" of the old socialist tradition of voting only for socialist candidates, but hailed the N.Y. Ind.-Soc. campaign for giving a national lift toward a return to that tradition. Another speaker called the Democrats America's "Catholic Center Party;" and still another compared the present Democratic Party with the 1890 British Liberals.

A representative of the Univ. of Wisconsin Socialist Club cited his group as an example of all-socialist discussion without the inheritance of name-calling from other generations of socialist sects. Perry Cartwright, editor of the Southern Newsletter, pointed out that "a woman, Yankee integrationist" in Virginia had thrown the fright of a lifetime into the Byrd Democratic machine by getting 100,000 votes against Sen. Harry Byrd. A Socialist candidate in the same election got 18,000 votes.

PEACE, RIGHTS & PEOPLE: The Civil Rights and Liberty discussion was described at the end by its chairman, Harvey O'Connor of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, as a "useful extension" of the traditional principle of individual rights and liberties into the modern situation, stressing the rights and liberties of groups. Speakers urged attention to such rights as the right to teach and learn, the right to peace, to a people's culture, to labor organization as well as voting rights in the south, to a strong Left press and the right of access to the ballot by minor parties, to inner-union democracy; and, proposed by the Rev. Joseph King, the right to "supreme citizenship" by all people.

The peace panel, chaired by Prof. Oliver Loud of Antioch College, started off with a statement by a young physicist that "one good, solid H-bomb can demolish Ohio." A thus alerted Cleveland roomful then heard a discussion which offered the shorter work week—not just a 30-hour week, but reduced to 20 or ten hours—as a way to distribute the 9,000,000 workers now producing for war into production for peaceful uses.

THE WAYWARD PRESS: A lurid advance news story originating in Washington and widely reprinted, foresaw the Cleveland conference as a battleground for "infiltrating" Communists and Trotskyists (Socialist Workers Party) both seeking to "take over." Actually only two or three official spokesmen for either group took the floor during the whole conference, the Communists to defend their electoral policy of working within the Democratic Party and the Socialist Workers to argue for united independent-socialist electoral action against both Democrats and Republicans.

Trade union participants, principally from Chicago, Cleveland and Detroit and numbering more than 30, many of them local or district leaders in large unions, approached the conference warily at first, not wanting to be "boxed in" by premature adoption of either CP or SWP programs. When the heralded attempts to "take over" failed to materialize the union people took the floor in impressive numbers to discuss immediate and long-range objectives, including a socialist labor movement. None seemed to have any illusions that the 1958 Democratic sweep guaranteed labor gains, especially the many Negro workers and others concerned with integration.

There was almost no discussion of foreign affairs other than universally expressed condemnation of the Cold War and nuclear diplomacy. But at the conclusion a Cleveland "Red Squad" police observer who sat in the lobby for most of the Conference told the **Plain Dealer** that the meeting was a Communist front; and the SP-SDF-ISL spokesman called the participants "Soviet apologists."

HOW IT CAME ABOUT: Both views were badly off the target, and from inside the conference could only be construed as those of pie-cards earning their pay. Actually the gathering was much closer to Engels' 19th Century term "nondescript brew;" but the ingredients showed an absence of crackpots and a maximum of people earnestly seeking a coming-together rather than a sharpening of differences in hand-to-hand combat.

One Marxist analyst stated (there were Christian Socialists present, too, by the way):

"A classical Marxist crisis is upon us economically. It will be long and deep. This meeting would not have been allowed five years ago: the boom wouldn't permit it."

Actually the meeting could not have occurred even three years ago, not because of a boom but because nobody in his right mind would have ventured to invite all shades of U.S. socialists into one room with the hope of any result but chaos. For this new atmosphere, the efforts of a single individual, A. J. Muste of the Fellowship of Reconciliation, must be recognized as the key. Muste in 1956-7 organized a series of "confrontation meetings" among leaders of all socialist tendencies who would participate, then called into being the American Forum for Socialist Education, where contending points of view were encouraged to meet face-to-face for public judgment.

Muste had no connection with the Cleveland Conference. He is today otherwise occupied, mobilizing public opinion for amnesty for America's remaining political prisoners. But the Cleveland Conference was a first, and perhaps unexpected fruit of his efforts at socialist togetherness. From here on in, the socialists are on their own.

The Negro vote

(Continued from Page 1)

disfranchisement is often ingenious, sometimes openly terroristic. In some counties applicants are obliged to bring to the registration office one or two "vouchers"—persons who are themselves voters and can testify that the applicant is who he says he is. In areas where there are no Negro voters, or few to begin with, and where even the most humble white voter considers Negro balloting a threat to his "supremacy," the applicant's chances of getting a fellow-citizen to "stand" for him are slim or non-existent.

Where the Negro rural dweller reaches the board offices, he may be confronted by a set of frivolous, if not unanswerable, questions. The old wheeze about a Negro's being asked "How many bubbles are there in a bar of soap" is more real than fancied, and at best it is a grim example of political humor.

Often Negroes are rejected on the flimsiest of technical grounds, which would apply in no other circumstances. A registrar may turn down an application because the would-be voter inserts the word "Negro" instead of "black" under the designation "color."

SHE BROKE THE BARRIER
Mrs. Charles E. White became the first Negro ever to win public office in Houston, Tex., when she was elected to the School Board in November.

IS IT WORTH IT? Where all these and other devices fail, intimidation and violence may be used to convince Negroes that the ballot is not worth the sacrifice they must make to achieve it. Many Negroes have lost their jobs, been denied credit, or had their mortgages withdrawn when they displayed an interest in voting. Some, like Harry T. Moore of Florida, Robert Mallard of Georgia and Rev. George Lee of Mississippi paid with their lives because they voted and urged others to do so.

As a result of these deterrents, only 25% of the eligible Negroes in 11 Southern states were registered to vote in the recent elections. This contrasted with 60% of whites in the same area. In 1956 the NAACP began a campaign to place the Negro performance on a par with whites by 1960. This would mean increasing the number of registered Negroes from 1,238,000 to approximately 3,000,000.

LONG WAY TO GO: After two years of work by the NAACP and Rev. Martin Luther Kings' Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the increase in Negro registration has been minimal. John Brooks, director of the NAACP drive, admitted to the **Wall Street Journal** last week that the goal of 3,000,000 is still a long way off. But he was not pessimistic. "We're just getting our program under way," he said. "The mass of our people are beginning to wake up; the next year or so should see a tremendous increase."

Such an increase will have to depend, in part at least, on Federal intervention and outside pressures. The very fact that Negroes have little or no voting power in many Southern areas rules out their use of the normal channels of political influence to improve their situation within the framework of state laws.

LIMITED POWERS: That's why the Civil Rights Commission hearings take on a special significance. The Commission itself is limited in authority by the law under which it was constituted last year. Its public airing of the problem is part of its function of surveying violations of civil rights, preliminary to making recommendations for legislation or action to the President. The Commission itself has no enforcement powers.

The right to seek penalties against violators of voting rights are vested in the Dept. of Justice which was equipped with a Civil Rights Division under the 1957 Act. The Department receives some 1,200 complaint letters monthly. Officials report, however, that most of them deal with civil rights violations other than voting and that many provide only fragmentary information.

As a result, the Department has uncovered only 16 complaints which it regards as valid. Of these, six are considered too weak for prosecution, nine are under investigation and one has reached the courts. In that case the Justice Dept. is charging Terrell County, Ga., registrars with "arbitrary refusal" to register four Negro school teachers and a Marine Corps employe. In 1956 only 48 out of 5,036 Negroes of voting age were qualified to vote in the county, while 2,679 out of 3,233 white eligibles were on the rolls.

NEW LAW NEEDED: The past year's experience under the Civil Rights Act of 1957 has underscored the need for new legislation. Under the present law the Dept. of Justice may seek injunctions against violators as it is doing in Georgia. But sentences and fines are limited to 45 days and $300 in these cases where public officials are patently guilty of stealing their fellow-citizens' votes. In contrast, Jimmy Wilson, the Alabama Negro handyman, was barely rescued from the electric chair and he is now serving a life term for the alleged robbery of $1.95.

Further, the Department is prohibited from investigation of the multitude of civil rights infractions outside the field of voting. And it is in these areas that most of the complaints arise. The 86th Congress, if it can hurdle Senate Rule 22, which permits filibusters to kill civil rights legislation, will have a chance to bring Federal law in line with Southern reality.

the SPECTATOR

Long way from home

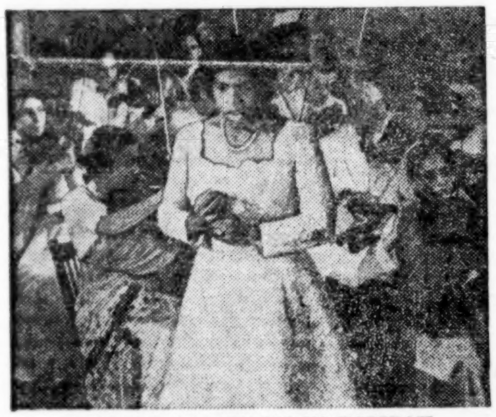
MAYBE, AT HER GREAT MOMENT of decision on Nov. 25, Marian Anderson experienced the sensation of mixed anguish and exultation which she imparts to her audiences when she sings her people's sorrow songs.

Maybe, then, she knew what the first Negro meant who sang, "Sometimes I feel like a motherless child . . . a long way from home." She may have thought of the "black and unknown bard" who first intoned, "Didn't my Lord deliver Daniel—then why not ever-y man!"

An alternate U.S. delegate to the 13th session of the United Nations General Assembly, Miss Anderson had been selected as her country's spokesman at a meeting of the Trusteeship Committee. Faithfully she set forth her government's position against two motions calling for a special Assembly session to discuss the pending independence of the Cameroons, West African trust territories. Special sessions should be reserved for matters of the "gravest importance," she said. Her government felt it would be "degrading" for the great world body to convene in special session for such a matter as this. Miss Anderson moved that the discussion be adjourned.

AS SHE RESUMED HER SEAT the representatives of colonial Britain and of Australia, which will not grant black travelers a visa, rose to support her motion. Opposing her were the representatives of Ceylon and Mrs. Angie Brooks, head of the Liberian delegation to the Trusteeship Committee.

The motion was defeated, 34-29, with nine abstentions. Then came the second installment in the short-course political education of Marian Anderson. One delegate after another arose to explain his country's vote. Miss Anderson's allies were all Westerners. But arrayed victoriously against them were the Mexican and Yugoslav, the Ceylonese and the Israeli, the Venezuelan, Ethiopian and Indian, the Pakistani, Iraqi and the delegates of the United Arab Republic.



MARIAN ANDERSON IN BOMBAY
At the UN she learned the songs' meaning

They all expressed their perplexity that a nation "conceived in liberty" should attach such small importance to the independence of 5,000,000 Africans. Still less could they believe that the great American Negro singer could want to dismiss so abruptly the petitions of the spokesmen of the Cameroon freedom movements who sat in the room.

As the criticism mounted, these nationalist leaders—headed by the exiled Dr. Felix-Roland Moumie, 32-year-old president of the banned Union of the Populations of the Cameroons—noticed that Miss Anderson was visibly moved. They also noted that all the other members of the U.S. delegation had left the room.

Here was a matter which the daily press presumably deemed too unimportant to report. But anyone who has felt the heel of oppression knows that nothing so thoroughly exacerbates the feigned gentility of the oppressor as the blunt criticism of his victims. Whatever the reason, Miss Anderson's white colleagues walked out and left her to accept alone the consequences which her advocacy of their position had provoked.

IT WAS THEN THAT SHE MODIFIED her loyalty with dissent. Maybe, in a rush, she experienced the miracle of full self-revelation. Maybe, for a short while at least, she knew beyond the power of any polite ambiguities to obscure, where she belonged in this world.

Not with the British and the French who hold the Cameroons in "trust" to the UN and, in light of all credible evidence, are bent on holding a long-term mortgage on the "independence" they feel obliged to grant the territories in 1960. Not even with her fellow-Americans who seldom deviate from support of their Western imperialist allies.

No, not with them. But with Moumie and the other Cameroonian nationalist leaders who sat there before her: Ndeh Ntumazah, Jean Ngounga and Doo Kingwe. From the villages of their land and others in Africa the rhythms of her songs had first risen. They took root in the Southern plantations and she had sung them all over the world.

Now she rose in the shimmering brick and glass temple of world peace and brotherhood. "There is none in this room," she said, "who is more interested in the people whose fate we are trying to determine than I. I am a member of an instructed delegation and we are here to carry out what is wanted; otherwise we would not be here." Thus she expressed her dissent from her own motion.

Looking back at it, she could not have sung those songs so beautifully all those years without knowing what they meant.

—Louis E. Burnham

RESORTS

"Dear Max, I kid
YOU
not . . . . .

"The word has gotten around that you have only three more reservations available for Xmas-New Year's.

"Please, please heat another house.

"Putting up entertainers and day camp counselors is o.k., but how about making some room for guests? We have rights, too!"

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Bronx amnesty concert for Winston and Green

A CONCERT IN SUPPORT of Christmas amnesty for Henry Winston and Gilbert Green will be held in the New Terrace Garden, 2145 Boston Rd. at 181st St., Bronx, on Sunday, Dec. 21, at 2 p.m. Initial sponsors are Dr. Royal France, Rev. John H. Bonoporto, Conrad Lynn, Professor Broadus Mitchell, James Imbrie, Russ Nixon and James Aronson.

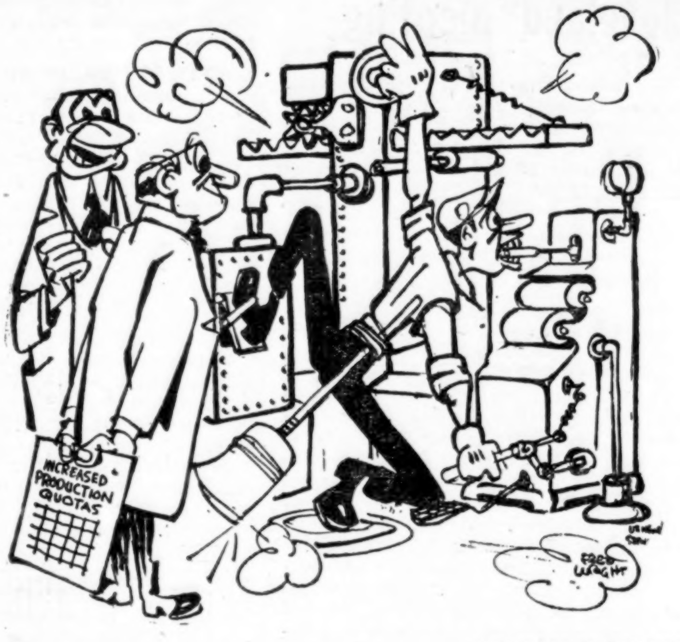
The program will feature Howard Fried, tenor. John Abt, attorney for Green and Winston, and other prominent speakers will address the meeting. Edith Segal will read some appropriate poems. Subscription is $1.

N.Y. book fair Dec. 8-12

A SERIES OF FIVE "Author's Nights" will be held at The Faculty of Social Science, 80 E. 11 St., from Monday through Friday, Dec. 8-12, as part of the Book Fair which it is sponsoring jointly with the Jefferson Bookshop. Each night one author of a recent book will speak on his book and autograph it. Admission is free, and the book will be sold, that night only, at a 20% reduction.

Among the authors scheduled are: Alphaeus Hunton, **Decision in Africa**; Oakley C. Johnson, **The Day Is Coming**; Joseph North, **No Men Are Strangers**; Victor Perlo, **The Empire of High Finance**; and Philip Bonosky, **Brother Bill McKie.**

On Saturday, Dec. 13, there will be an all-day Book Bazaar, with old and new books offered at sharply slashed rates.



Drawing by Fred Wright

"Furthermore, this machine immediately reports any slowdown to the Senate investigating committee."

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CALENDAR

CHICAGO

BERYOZKA DANCERS from **USSR** in Chicago January 9-11. Tickets and information from Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 32 W. Randolph. AN 3-1877.

Report of the
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by the **CHICAGO DELEGATION**
Thurs., Dec. 11, 8 p.m.
Rm. 420 **ROOSEVELT UNIVERSITY**
430 S. Michigan Blvd.

BOSTON

JEWISH PEOPLE'S FORUM
Sun., Dec. 14, 11 a.m.
KUMAR GOSHAL, National Guardian Associate Editor
"HOT SPOTS IN ASIA"
Town & Country Club, Dorchester, formerly Morton Plaza. Question Period, Silver Collection. — Sun., Dec. 21. Herbert Aptheker, "U. S. Foreign Policy."

PHILADELPHIA

30th Anniversary Celebration
of **THE MILITANT**
DANIEL ROBERTS, Editor "The Militant" will speak on "The Road to Socialism in America & the USSR." Sat., Dec. 13, at 1303 W. Girard Av. Refreshments—6:30 p.m., Festive Baked Ham Dinner, 7:30 p.m., Meeting 9 p.m., followed by a Social Night of Music, Dancing, etc. For dinner reservations call SA 7-2166. Ausp: Militant Labor Forum.

Philadelphia Young Socialist Club offers: **TIM WOHLFORTH,** Ed. **Young Socialist,** "Is Socialism a Threat to Democracy?" plus guitars, eats, Sat., Dec. 6, 8 p.m. 25c—Sun. afternoon Discussions: **"ABC's of SOCIALISM,"** Dec. 14, 28, Jan. 11, 25. 3506 Powelton Av., Apt. 4-B, BA 2-4078. **INDEPENDENT BROAD MILITANT.**

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Herbert Aptheker
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Philip Bonosky
Tues. 6:45—Mao's "On Contradictions"
Harry K. Wells
8:30—Problems of Left Unity
William Albertson
Wed. 6:45—Lenin "What Is To Be Done?"
Harold Collins
8:30—Aspects of Soviet Law
Leon Josephson
Thu. 6:45—The Jewish Question
J. M. Budish
8:30—Mao's "Handling Contradictions"
Sue Warren
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LECTURE, Sun., Dec. 14, 8:30 p.m. **DR. OTTO NATHAN,** assoc. prof. of Economics, associate of late Albert Einstein, "The Fallacy of American Economy." Brighton Community Center, 3200 Coney Island Av. (Brooklyn).

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PUBLICATIONS

C.P. sections denounce expulsion. Elections from Marxist-Leninist viewpoint. Expose of modern revisionism. All in November **VANGUARD,** 10c a copy, 1 yr. sub. $1 P.O. Box 234, Planetarium Station, New York City.

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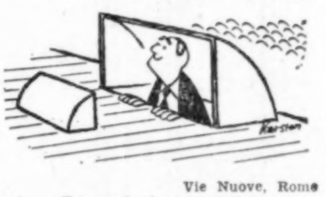
THE GALLERY

WHEN PAUL AND ESLANDA ROBESON returned to London after midnight recently, they asked their cab driver where they could get a snack before retiring. He told them all eating places in London close at midnight and took them to their hotel. About an hour later there was a knock on their door. Sleepily Robeson looked out and there was the cabbie, his arms filled with sandwiches. To Mrs. Robeson he said: "It wouldn't be right for Mr. Robeson to go to bed hungry in London." He tipped his hat, declined money thrust at him and left . . . . Robeson's half-hour monthly TV show draws more mail than any other on British television . . . . The athletic department of the U. of Chicago would not allow cross-country runner Ned Price to participate in a meet because he refused to wear a maroon blazer donated by the alumni. Without Price the team was shut out.

WILLIAM SAROYAN wrote in **Moscow News** about his recent visit to the U.S.S.R.: "I really saw good-humored people, people worshipping one faith—faith in themselves, faith in man." He added: "I also saw an abundance of culture. Being a writer, who knows what books mean in the life of a nation, after visiting only two publishing houses and one editorial office, having had only one meeting with Russian writers, I was certain of a quite incomparable and overwhelming victory reached by this nation—the victory of the Book. There were books for me, for my son and my daughter, if we should live here, books for everybody." He said he planned no articles or book about his trip but added: "I have just had a wonderful rest here. And I shall come again—during the spring—with my 15-year-old son Aram—this time for a long period."



Vie Nuove, Rome

Prompter's prompter

THE BAKING SODA INSTITUTE proclaimed Thanksgiving Day the beginning of "Indigestion Week." . . . . Prince Knud and Princess Caroline Mathilde of Denmark had seats far to the side at a recent performance of the Copenhagen ballet. From that angle they couldn't see the sexy bathroom seduction scene in Francois Sagan's ballet, **The Broken Date.** After the performance was over and the crowd left, the theater owner sat his royal guests front-center in the orchestra and had the dancers repeat the sequence . . . . George Blackstone explained to a municipal court judge in Washington, D.C., that he struck his son-in-law with a hammer by mistake. He said he was swinging at his wife when the son-in-law rose from a couch and intercepted the blow with his skull. "He wasn't even in the argument," Blackstone said. . . . . William Mandel's radio program, **Soviet Press and Periodicals,** can now be heard in Chicago on WFMT on Wednesdays after the 10 p.m. news broadcast . . . . A release from WNEW-TV describes a film on its schedule, **Let's Live Again:** "There's a lot of confusion and dismay when a scientist finds that his dead brother reappears as a small mongrel puppy." No doubt.

TWO ATOMIC REACTORS in Windscale, England, which were closed last year after an accident, won't be safe to re-enter for at least 200 years. Scientists on the project are preserving a record of what happened so that future-generation scientists will be forewarned. . . . Graziella Boucher, president of the Animal Defenders League, announced that her group opposes the importation of communist bears by the Portland, Ore., zoo. . . . A strip teaser in Manila calls herself "Norma Vincent Peel." . . . The Buffalo, N.Y., Catholic Legion of Decency has forbidden Catholics to patronize for six months a theater which showed a Brigitte Bardot movie. . . . Hjalmar Andersson has not worked regularly since he resigned from his job as janitor of an Evanston, Ill., school last December after 30 years. During the last two years of his employment he received no pay. In 1955 Andersson refused to sign a non-communist oath required by state law of school employes. His check was written each week and deposited in the principal's safe. Andersson, who says he is not a Communist, continued on the job without pay because he liked the people at the school and they liked him, but he continued to resist the oath. He says he came to this country "because the people had the courage to fight to be free." Today, he says, the U.S. is "awfully short on fighters."

—Robert E. Light

Final registration open for Marxist classes in NY

FINAL REGISTRATIONS are being accepted for the 16 short-term classes offered by The Faculty of Social Science, 80 E. 11th St., during December.

These include: "Problems of Left Unity," with William Albertson; "The 'New Capitalism'," with Myer Weise; "Aspects of Soviet Law," with Leon Josephson; "The Jewish Question," with J. M. Budish; and "Challenges to Democracy," with Herbert Aptheker. Courses on Marxist classics are also included, among them Engels' "Socialism: Utopian and Scientific," Lenin's "What Is To Be Done?", and Mao Tse-tung's "Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People."

Registration is taken from 2 to 9 p.m. daily. Full course fee is $2.50; single admissions, $1.

Anne Braden to speak at Chicago dinner Dec. 6

THE AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP Club is observing the Tenth Anniversary of the Declaration of Human Rights of the UN with a buffet dinner at the Hyde Park Neighborhood Club, 5480 S. Kenwood, Chicago, Ill., Sat., Dec. 6, at 7 p.m.

Guest speaker will be Mrs. Anne Braden of Louisville, Ky., newspaperwoman and author who is one of the leading integrationists in the South. She will report on a recent survey of the progress of integration in the South.

There will also be a musical program. Reservations are being taken by Paul Hayzlett, ST 2-6646; Mrs. Roberta Ray, MI 3-1430. The admission is $2.

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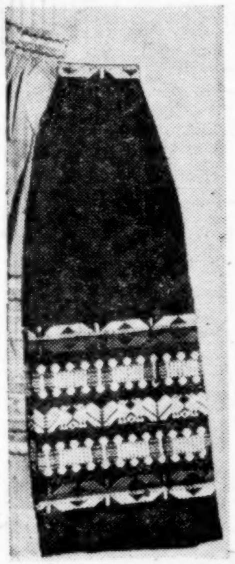

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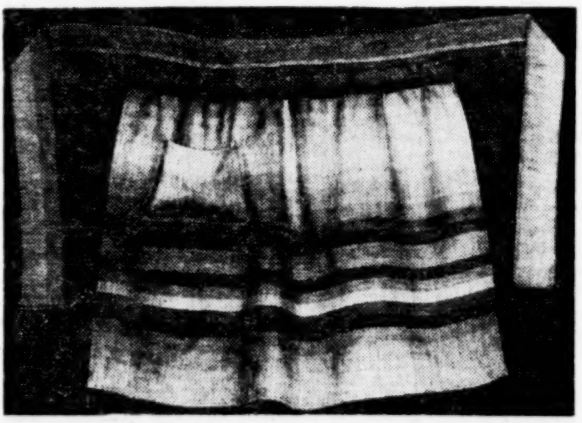

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